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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AUGUSTUS' *RES GESTAE* AS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

BY

MICHAEL P. WARD

(C)

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

Edmonton, Alberta

FALL 1991

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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled AUGUSTUS' *RES GESTAE* AS AUTOBIOGRAPHY submitted by MICHAEL P. WARD in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

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ABSTRACT

"One should not take the narrator's word for [the truth of the information], but should consider his version of the facts as one contribution to his own biography". Gusdorf's observation on modern autobiography as a literary genre raises a question about Augustus' achievement in the *Res Gestae*. How realistic a picture of Augustus is the *RG*? Suetonius says that it was written to be an epitaph inscribed on two bronze pillars. This required Augustus to compress considerably his material; to what extent, then, is he as autobiographer selecting events of his life so as to project an image of himself for public consumption?

An analysis of the *RG* in light of other biographical monuments, like the Behistun inscription, reveals much that has as yet gone unnoticed about the nature and purpose of the *RG*. The following thesis begins with a general introduction outlining previous theories. Chapter I contains a study of biographical writings, literary and epigraphic, Roman and Eastern. The key similarity among these writings is that, apart from providing details of an individual's life, the material is gathered in such a way so as to declare the subject's *auctoritas*. The same chapter examines a set of eight criteria that serve to identify and to define "the self-glorification of the statesman" as a dominant theme not only of ancient biographical writings, but especially of the *RG*. The first seven characteristics represent aspects of the eighth, *auctoritas*. Chapter II discusses how Augustus composed the *RG* to highlight his contributions as a ruler in each of the eight categories. Chapter III is an examination of how Augustus as author manipulates chronology, deletes significant life events, and memorializes his narrative in bronze to create an ideal "Augustus".

CONTENTS

Page

Introduction....1

I. Ancient Biographical Writings....4

A. Biography

1. Oral and Epigraphic Biography

2. Literary Biography....11

B. Autobiography....15

1. Roman (Latin)

2. Non - Roman Predecessors of Augustus....21

3. Comparative Analysis....35

II. Augustus' *Res Gestae* as Autobiography....37

III. "Augustus"....52

Bibliography....59

Appendix I....62

Appendix II....64

Appendix III....70

ABBREVIATIONS

BCAR *Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Communale in Roma*. Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider.

CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, editum consilia et auctoritate Academiae Regiae Borussicae, Berolini, 1863-.

HZ *Historische Zeitshcrift*. München, Oldenbourg.

IGRR *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, G. Lafaye (ed.), Librairie Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1927.

ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, H. Dessau (ed.), Berlin 1897-1916.

OGIS *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, W. Dittenberger (ed.), George Olms, Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim, 1960.

REL *Revue des Études Latines*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres.

RG (the *Res Gestae* of Augustus)

SBAW *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-Hist. Klass*. München, Beck.

SIG *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, W. Dittenberger (ed.), George Olms, Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim, 1960.

WS *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik*. Wien, Verl. der Öster. Akademie.

ZRG *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* (Romanistische Abteilung). Graz, Böhlau.

Introduction

Since the appearance of Theodore Mommsen's edition of 1883 there has been considerable discussion, without much agreement, concerning the form of Augustus' *Res Gestae*.[1] Scholars have called the text, among other things, a sepulchral inscription (Bormann, Schmidt, Nissen[2]), a political testament and *memoria vitae* (Hirschfeld[3]), an account book and reckoning of Augustus' achievements (Wölfflin[4]), an *elogium* ("abstract"; Gagé[5]), and an *eiuratio* ("statement of resignation"; Staedler[6]). All these points of view have their supporters and detractors. In his recent study of the *Res Gestae*, Edwin S. Ramage observes:

> It would be pointless to reopen the issue here or even to elaborate the various theories, since this line of research has proved to be so unprofitable....The fact that no one theory has prevailed suggests that the *RG* should be viewed as a unique creation, designed by Augustus for his own special purposes.[7]

This statement represents current thinking about the text, although the idea of it as a unique creation was first suggested in 1889 by Cantarelli.[8] In my view, the *Res Gestae* is indeed a "unique creation",

---

[1] E.S. Ramage has a good summary and copious bibliography in *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus' "Res Gestae"*, (*Historia*, Einzelschrift 54 [1987]), pp.15, 117f, and especially 135f. Only a brief sampling of the various opinions is provided here.

[2] Ramage (1987) p.136; E. Bormann, *Bemerkungen zum schriftlichen Nachlass des Kaisers Augustus*, Marburg, 1884.

[3] O. Hirschfeld, "Zum Monumentum Ancyranum", *WS* 7 (1885) pp.170-4.

[4] E. Wölfflin, "Epigraphische Beitrage (Ueber zwei Inschriften der Kaiser Augustus und Hadrian)", *SBAW* 1886, pp.253-87.

[5] J. Gagé, "Le genre litteraire des res gestae triomphals et ses themes", *REL* 17 (1939) pp.33-4.

[6] E. Staedler, "Uber Rechtsnatur und Rechtsinhalt der Augusteischen Regesten", *ZRG* 61 (1941) pp.77-122. See also Ramage (1987) p.136.

[7] Ramage (1987) p.15.

[8] L. Cantarelli, "L'iscrizione di Ancira", *BCAR* 17 (1889) pp.3-16; 57-68.

in Latin at least, and yet at the same time it also fits into a category of writings unnamed, that is, not formally recognized as a distinct genre. I shall argue that Augustus' *Res Gestae* belongs to such a category of autobiography.

Mommsen observed that the *Res Gestae* had something in common with such works as the Behistun inscription of Darius (c. 500 B.C.), although neither Mommsen nor anyone else has pursued that idea very far; in fact, some scholars do not consider it a sound parallel.[9] An analysis, however, of the *Res Gestae* in light of other biographical monuments, like the Behistun inscription, reveals much that has gone hitherto unnoticed about the nature and purpose of the *Res Gestae* as autobiography. Chapter I of the thesis contains a study of biographical writings, literary and epigraphic, Roman and Eastern.

I distinguish between biography and autobiography by what *person* the narrative is recorded in: biography is third person, autobiography is first person. These are labels for convenience. As I shall show below, some "autobiographical" documents are clearly not the compositions of their subjects, and some third person documents, I am certain, *are* the work of their subjects: we know, for example, that Julius Caesar wrote about *himself*, but in the *third* person.[10]

---

[9] T. Mommsen, "Der Rechenschaftsbericht des Augustus", *HZ* 57 (1887) pp.385-97; P.A. Brunt and J.M. Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, Oxford, 1967, p.4.

[10] Another example (possibly) similar to the case of Caesar is the account of the Battle of Megiddo conducted by pharaoh Thutmose III (c. 1480-c. 1450 B.C.). Parts of the narrative are first person, but near the beginning of the inscription is the statement: "His majesty commanded to record [the victories his father Amun had given him] by an inscription in the temple..." Even if the king did not compose the document himself, he would have had the final say about its content. See M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Berkeley, 1976, vol.2 p.30.

I demonstrate that the key similarity among these writings is that, far from merely providing details of an individual's life, the material is gathered in such a way so as to declare the subject's *auctoritas*. In the same chapter I examine a set of eight criteria, which I have discovered, that serve to identify and to define "the self-glorification of the statesman" as a dominant theme not only of ancient biographical writings, but especially of Augustus' *Res Gestae*. The first seven characteristics represent the chief aspects that contribute to the eighth, the "magic property",[11] of *auctoritas*. In Chapter II I show how Augustus composed the *Res Gestae* to highlight his special contributions as a ruler in each of the eight categories. In Chapter III, beginning with the important observations of James Olney and Georges Gusdorf on modern autobiography as a potentially fictional narrative, I look at how Augustus as author manipulates chronology, deletes significant life events, and memorializes his narrative on bronze tablets in order to create an image of "Augustus", idealized and handed down to posterity.

---

[11] The phrase of M. Grant, *From* Imperium *To* Auctoritas, Cambridge, 1969, p.443.

Chapter I

Ancient Biographical Writings

A. Biography

1. Oral and Epigraphic Biography

The Romans were fond of extolling friends, relatives, and themselves for posterity in oral, literary, an epigraphic forms. Biography and autobiography were familiar genres in Rome by the period of Augustus (63 B.C.-A.D. 14), although it is difficult to determine exactly when they appeared there (the epigraphic autobiography was established in Egypt at the latest by the New Kingdom, c. 1550 B.C.[12]) In the words of Barry Baldwin: "By the end of the Republic and the advent of the Principate, biography was well established at Rome, both as a Greek literary genre and as an off-shoot of the encomiastic practices at Roman funerals and Roman banquets."[13] The "encomiastic practices" were the banquet songs praising great men as well as the dirges and eulogies delivered at funerals (*laudationes funebris*) which were later preserved as part of the family history. Cicero (106-43 B.C.) reports that *laudationes* were an ancient tradition:

> *...in Originibus dixit Cato morem apud maiores hunc epularum fuisse, ut deinceps qui accubarent canerent ad tibiam clarorum virorum laudes et virtutes...(Tusculan Disputations* 4.3).
>
> ...in his book *The Origins* Cato [the Elder, 234-149 B.C.] says that there was a custom among our ancestors at banquets which involved each of the diners singing in turn the praises and

---

[12] See Lichtheim (1980) p.11f.

[13] B. Baldwin, "Biography at Rome", *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, Collection Latomus I, Bruxelles, 1979, p.101.

virtues of famous men to the accompaniment of a flute...[14]

In his description of a Roman funeral, Polybius (c.203-c.120 B.C.) notes:

> πέριξ δὲ παντὸς τοῦ δημοῦ στάντος, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους, ἂν μὲν υἱὸς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καταλείπηται καὶ τύχῃ παρών, οὗτος, εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τις ἀπὸ γένους ὑπάρχει, λέγει περὶ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιτετευγμένας ἐν τῷ ζῆν πράξεις (6.53.2).
>
> When all the people had gathered around, [the deceased's] son, if he had one in the prime of life who happened to be present, or one of his relatives who was available, mounted the rostra and spoke of the virtues and accomplishments of the dead man.

Not only were these eulogies preserved as family history, but they also formed part of the public record, for Livy (59 B.C.-A.D. 17) complains that historical accounts have been contaminated by inaccurate eulogies:

> *Vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudationibus reor falsisque imaginum titulis*...(8.40.4-5).
>
> It is my opinion that the public record has been corrupted by funerary orations and fraudulent inscriptions on statues...

They were apparently circulated, too, because Cicero tells us "I have in hand a *laudatio*, which..." (*de Senectute*, 12: *Est in manibus laudatio, quam*...). Practically nothing survives of the *laudationes*, dirges, banquet songs, and eulogies.

What does survive is the information condensed in funerary inscriptions recording the outline of the deceased's life. There are a great many such funerary inscriptions of a "biographical" nature, and also dedicatory and honorary inscriptions of a similar sort. The structure of these biographies is conventional, that is, they follow a pattern already evident in the oldest extant examples. One of our earliest examples of biographical conventions is found in the

---

[14] All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

inscription in memory of Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus (consul 298 B.C.; year of death unknown):[15]

> *Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus Gnaiod patre prognatus fortis vir sapiensque, quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit, consol censor aidilis quei fuit apud vos; Taurasia Cisaunia Samnio cepit, subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abdoucit.*
>
> Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus, son of Gnaius, a brave and wise man, whose beauty was most equal to his excellence, was consul, censor, and aedile among you; he captured Taurasia, Cisaunia and Samnium, subdued all of Lucana and brought back captives.

The pattern in this inscription is: first, Scipio's full name and that of his father (lines 1-2), second, his intellectual and physical attributes (l. 2-3), and third, his *res gestae*, which are of two types: offices held (l. 3), and military successes (l. 3-4). The pattern of the funerary inscription as exemplified by Scipio's can be laid out as follows:

1. Identification:

   Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus Gnaiod patre prognatus

2. Intellectual and physical attributes:

   fortis vir sapiensque, quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit

3. Personal achievements (*Res gestae*):

   consol censor aidilis quei fuit apud vos;

   Taurasia Cisaunia Samnio cepit, subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abdoucit

In another biographical inscription (composed after 145 B.C.), dedicatory rather than funerary, there is a further elaboration of the basic pattern. The information in this inscription anticipates the theme

---

[15] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*), editum consilia et auctoritate Academiae Regiae Borussicae, Berolini, 1863-, 1.7; merely one of many possible examples; for the Scipio family alone see *CIL* 1.8, 9, 10, 11; for another family see *CIL* 1.25 (C. Duilius, consul 260 B.C.).

of *auctoritas*. *Auctoritas* is "a profoundly original and specifically Roman" ideal, "a genuine power which compelled without employing force"[16], and an important feature in both biography and autobiography, and the *raison d'être* of the *Res Gestae* (see p.21f.).[17] Mummius' *auctoritas* as commander is affirmed in the inscription by his triumph and by his dedication of a temple in honour of his military success:[18]

L. Mummi L. f. cos. duct(u)
auspicio imperioque
eius Achaia capt(a) Corinto
deleto Romam redieit
triumphans ob hasce
res bene gestas quod
in bello voverat
hanc aidem et signu(m)
Herculis Victoris
imperator dedicat.

> Lucius [Mummius], son of Lucius Mummius, consul, after Achaea was captured and Carthage destroyed under his auspices and command, returned to Rome in triumph because of these tasks well accomplished [*res bene gestas*]; that which he vowed in battle, this temple and statue of Hercules Victor, he dedicates as *imperator* [commander-in-chief].

As in the previous example, the inscription begins with the subject's name, Lucius, and his father's. Instead of a description of physical and mental attributes there is an emphasis on Mummius' *res gestae*, especially the fact that they have been done well (*bene*).

1. Identification:
   L. Mummi L. f.

2. *Res gestae*
   cos. duct(u)
   auspicio imperioque

---

[16] Thus Ramage (1987) p.42, summarizing the arguments of J. Hellegouarc'h, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la république*, Paris, 1963, pp.295-307.

[17] As Ramage (1987) acknowledges in a footnote: "...the idea [*auctoritas*] in essence dominates the *RG*." (p.41 n.75)

[18] *CIL* 1.626.

eius Achaia capt(a) Corinto
deleto

3. Reward:
Romam redieit
triumphans ob hasce
res bene gestas

4. Dedication:
quod
in bello voverat
hanc aidem et signu(m)
Herculis Victoris
imperator dedicat.

Surely Mummius had considerable influence in the content of this inscription.

Over time, although the conventions for writing funerary or dedicatory inscriptions remain fairly constant, the amount of detail, and thus the length of the inscriptions, expands. One such example is the dedication of Gaius Cornelius Gallus (c.69-26 B.C.), the first prefect (*praefectus*) of Egypt, as recorded in this inscription (dated 29 B.C.):[19]

C. Cornelius Cn. f. Gallu[s eq]ues Romanus pos<t> reges
a Caesare deivi f. devictos praefect[us Alex]andreae et Aegypti
primus defectioni[s]
Thebaidis intra dies XV quibus hostem v[icit bis a]cie victor V
urbium expugnator Bore[se]-
os Copti Ceramices Diospoleos meg[ales Op]hieu ducibus earum
defectionum inter-
[ce]ptis exercitu ultra Nili catarhacte[n transd]ucto in quem
locum neque populo
Romano neque regibus Aegypti [arma ante s]unt prolata Thebaide
communi omn[i]-
um regum formidine subact[a] leg[atisque re]gis Aethiopum ad
Philas auditis eo[que]
rege in tutelam recepto tyrann[o] Tr[iacontas]choenundi Aethiopiae
constituto die[is]
patrieis et Nil[o audiut]ori d(onum) d(edit)

---

[19] *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (*ILS*), H. Dessau (ed.), Berlin 1897-1916, 8995.

> Gaius Cornelius Gallus, son of Gnaius, Roman knight, first prefect of Alexandria and Egypt after the kings were defeated by Caesar, son of the deified [Julius Caesar], put down the Theban revolt in fifteen days during which he twice in battle defeated five towns, capturing Boresei, Copti, Ceramices, Diospolei megalai, and Opheus, when the leaders of their revolt were cut-off; after an army was led beyond the cataract of the Nile, to where no arms had been brought either by the Romans or by the kings of Egypt; after fear of all the kings was subdued in the Theban community and after legates from the king of Ethiopia were received at Philae and after this king was brought under [Roman] tutelage and established as sole ruler of *Triacontaschoenundi Aethiopiae*, [Gallus] dedicated a gift to the state gods and the river Nile, the Helper.

M. Cary and H.H. Scullard[20] find this inscription boastful, especially for one who was a Knight and a provincial. Boastful or not, it provides personal information about the career of Gallus while he was prefect. Gallus' name and his father's come first, followed by his social rank: *eques Romanus*. Anyone would know that he was a provincial by his name (Gallus: from Gaul), thus to have attained the rank of *eques* was notable. In addition to stating that he was the first prefect of Egypt, that he suppressed rebellions, received legates, and attended to other such official matters, Gallus also alleges to be the first to take an army beyond the cataract of the Nile. He may have been the first *Roman* to do so, but the existence of Egyptian monuments beyond "the cataract" predating Gallus by millennia belies his boast.[21] Not only is the inscription quite lengthy and reproduced in Greek and in hieroglyphics, but it also juxtaposes Gallus' social status, a mere *eques*, with a catalogue of accomplishments which would be worthy of a consul. Moreover, on the actual stone the name C. Cornelius in line 1 is

---

[20] M. Cary and H.H. Scullard, *A History of Rome*, London, 1975, p.331.

[21] Augustus makes a point of mentioning his own expedition, which went all the way to Ethiopia (*RG* 26.5).

directly above the name Caesar (Augustus) in line 2. The inscription is a testimony to Gallus' attempt to use a third-person narrative to assert his *auctoritas*, although he did not go beyond the bounds of biographical convention:

1. Identification:

C. Cornelius Cn. f. Gallu[s eq]ues Romanus

2. *Res gestae* of several types, after a parenthetical mention of Augustus:

pos<t> reges a Caesare deivi f. devictos

praefect[us Alex]andreae et Aegypti primus

defectioni[s] Thebaidis intra dies XV *quibus hostem v[icit bis a]cie victor* V *urbium expugnator Bore[se]os Copti Ceramices Diospoleos meg[ales Op]hieu ducibus earum defectionum inter[ce]ptis*

exercitu ultra Nili catarhacte[n transd]ucto in quem locum neque populo Romano neque regibus Aegypti [arma ante s]unt prolata

Thebaide communi omn[i]um regum formidine subact[a] leg[atisque re]gis Aethiopum ad Philas auditis eo[que] rege in tutelam recepto tyrann[o] Tr[iacontas]choenundi Aethiopiae constituto

3. Dedication:

die[is] patrieis et Nil[o audiut]ori d(onum) d(edit)

Suetonius (A.D. c.69-c.140) reports that Gallus was finally removed from his post because of such displays of unseemly self-confidence.[22] As with the previous example, no doubt the subject of the inscription is responsible for its content.

---

[22] *Augustus*, 66:...*alteri* [Gallus] *ob ingratum et malivolum animum domo et provinciis suis interdixit. Sed Gallo quoque et accusatorum denuntiationibus et senatus consultis ad necem conpulso...*; the other [Gallus] he [Augustus] banned from his household and his provinces because of his ingratitude and spiteful disposition. He [eventually] committed suicide as a result of denunciations and decrees of the senate...

2. Literary Biography

There are two major differences between epigraphic and literary biography: the literary biographer 1) is always an outside third party reporter, and 2) he thinks more like a philosopher than an historian in his selection and presentation of material. As E.I. McQueen states,

> ...history describes...what its personages *do*, biography is more concerned with what sort of person they *are*...[23]

In practice, however, the distinction between writing the past events of a man's life, an *historia*, and writing a man's "life", a *vita*,[24] is not an easy one to maintain. Roman literary biography has as another of its roots, in addition to the epigraphic tradition, the Greek Hellenistic biography. One of the leading Roman exponents of the genre, Cornelius Nepos (c.99-c.24 B.C.), admits on one occasion to being uncertain: at what point, Nepos wonders, does the recording of a man's significant achievements (his *res gestae*) cross the boundary into history?

> *...de virtutibus dubito quem ad modum exponam, quod vereor, si res explicare incipiam, ne non vitam eius enarrare, sed historiam videar scribere...*(*Pelopidas* 1.1).

> ...concerning [Pelopidas'] virtues, I am not sure to what extent I should explain, because I fear that if I start to set forth his *res*, I would appear not to be narrating his life, but to be writing history...[25]

By the time of Nepos there was a definitive order of presenting material, which he explains:

> *quare dicemus primum de genere eius, deinde quibus disciplinis et a quibus sit eruditus, tum de moribus ingeniique facultatibus et si qua alia memoria digna erunt, postremo de rebus gestis, quae*

---

[23] E.I. McQueen, "Quintus Curtius Rufus", *Latin Biography*, T.A. Dorey (editor), New York, 1967, p.18.

[24] One of the meanings of *vita* is "biography".

[25] Compare also *Praefatio*, 8:...*exponemus...de vita excellentium imperatorum*,...; I shall set forth the lives of the excellent commanders...

a plurimis animi anteponuntur virtutibus (*Epaminondas* 1.3-4).

> Therefore we shall speak first of [Epaminondas'] origins, second, in what areas and by whom he was educated, third, about his character and inborn abilities and anything else worthy of mention, and fourth, about his *res gestae*, which are considered by most to be more important than the excellences (*virtutes*) of the mind and spirit (*animi*).

Plutarch (A.D. c.46-c.120) has a firm idea of his purpose and the means to achieve it:

> ...οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους (*Alexander* 1.2).
>
> ...for I am not writing histories, but, rather, lives.

Thus in *Artaxerxes* 8.1 Plutarch says that he has omitted the details of a certain battle since he knows the reader can find that information in historians:

> τὴν δὲ μάχην ἐκείνην πολλῶν μὲν ἀπηγγελκότων...οὐκ ἔστι νοῦν ἔχοντος ἐπεξηγεῖσθαι...
>
> But, since many have reported that battle, I do not intend to explain it in detail...[26]

In their concern that literary biography not serve as history, Nepos and Plutarch placed themselves in the so-called Peripatetic tradition. Edna Jenkinson looks back to fourth-century B.C. Greece and Aristotle as the beginning of this tradition:

> [There was a] new interest in ethics [which] led to the deeper exploration of the human personality, both of individuals and of types.[27]

Jenkinson, having established the ethical import of this type of biography, traces its rise to popularity in the Hellenistic east and in

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[26] Similarly in *Fabius Maximus* 16.5: ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τὰς διεξοδικὰς γράψαντες ἱστορίας ἀπηγγέλκασι; but those who write history have reported these things fully.

[27] E. Jenkinson, "Nepos - An Introduction To Latin Biography" *Latin Biography*, p.3; see also D.R. Stuart, *Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography*, New York, 1967, *passim*.

Rome. Plutarch sets his work in an ethical frame of reference when he declares that he is fashioning "examples of lives" (*Demetrius* 1.5: *τὰ παραδείγματα τῶν βίων*). From comments scattered throughout his biographies, it is clear that he hoped to instruct his readers by "...offering [the lives] as a means of observing character and manner..." (*Nicias* 1.5:...*ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς κατανοήσιν ἤθους καὶ τρόπου παραδιδούς*...) And so minor incidents in a man's life may be just as revealing as his *res gestae*. After relating an apparently trivial event in the life of Cato (95-46 B.C.), Plutarch defends himself:

> *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἧττον οἰόμενοι τῶν ὑπαίθρων καὶ μεγάλων πράξεων πρὸς ἔνδειξιν ἤθους καὶ κατανόησιν ἔχειν τινὰ σαφήνειαν ἐπὶ πλέον διήλθομεν* (*Cato Minor* 37.5).
>
> Therefore, thinking that these things are not inferior to great deeds in the field as evidence of character and as a means of observing it with clarity, I have gone through them at length.

In this case, by turning to every day experiences Plutarch invites his readers to see the importance of all aspects of life as "signs of the [human] mind and spirit" (*Alexander* 1.3: *τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα*).[28]

For the Peripatetic biographer a man's *vita* serves as a pattern, an authority, to follow. Plutarch in his life of Pericles (1.4) underlines the didactic potential of the "good deeds done by a man of virtue" (*τὰ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἔργα*), when he says that:

> *...καὶ ζηλόν τινα καὶ προθυμίαν ἀγωγὸν εἰς μίμησιν ἐποιεῖ τοῖς ἱστορήσασιν...*
>
> ...[they] inspire zeal and create a desire to imitate in those who inquire...[29]

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[28] The whole of Chapter 1 of the *Alexander* is a discussion of such matters.

[29] In *Demetrius* 1.6 Plutarch further comments on the idea of models to imitate:...*ὥσπερ Ἰσμηνίας ὁ Θηβαῖος ἐπιδεικνύμενος τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς αὐλοῦντας εἰώθει λέγειν, Οὕτως αὐλεῖν δεῖ, καὶ*

Nepos, recognized as a eulogizer, provides a partial definition of what *virtutes* (Greek ἀρεταί) may consist:

> *neque aliud est ullum huius in re militari illustre factum quam huius imperii memoria, iustitiae vero et aequitatis et innocentiae multa...*(*Aristeides* 2.2).
>
> Nor is there any other famous accomplishment of [Aristeides] in military matters other than the record of his command, but [there are] many examples of [his] *justice*, *fairness*, and *integrity*... (italics mine)

Indeed, for Nepos, these excellent qualities not only seem to have the power to erase the record of a man's "vices" (*vitia*), but they may also increase the value and attraction of his life for the biographer:

> *Huius* [Themistocles] *vitia ineuntis adolescentiae magnis sunt emendata virtutibus, adeo ut anteferatur huic nemo, pauci pares putentur* (*Themistocles* 1.1).
>
> The vices of the young [Themistocles] were made up for by great virtues, so much so that no one should be considered his superior, and few should be thought his equal.[30]

Nepos considers the life of Themistocles as all the more authoritative because Themistocles rose from a life of *luxuria* ("self-indulgence") to become a role model.[31]

In summary, the very selection of an individual as the subject of a biography implies the *auctoritas* of that person to the Peripatetic biographer. What he then attempts to do is fashion a portrait, by

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πάλιν, Οὕτως αὐλεῖν οὐ δεῖ...;...just as Ismenias the Theban, showing his pupils examples of good and bad flute players says, "you should play like this", or "you should not play like this"...

[30] The *Lysander* is the only life of Nepos offered as an example of what *not* to do (or be).

[31] For other comments by Plutarch on the nature and purpose of biography, see also: *Aemilius Paullus* 1, *Aratus* 1.2-4, *Cimon* 2.3-5, *Demosthenes* 11.6, *Galba* 2.3, *Nicias* 1.1. Part of the purpose, it could be argued, of Augustus' *Res Gestae* and the other "self-glorification of the statesman" documents is to record the great deeds of the author *as well as* revealing his character. More later.

drawing upon any events or activities (political, military, religious), major or minor, that will recreate in the reader what the biographer found distinctive in his subject. That man's *auctoritas* may contain several ideas; it can refer to his "authority", that is, his ability to compel without using force; or to his "influence on decision making"; or to his "leadership abilities"; or, finally, to his "worthiness" to stand as an "example" or a "pattern" of conduct for others. *Auctoritas* is thus the Latin word for a complex concept, but not a peculiarly Roman one. In Chapter I (B.2), the autobiographical documents of other cultures beyond Italy suggest that these peoples, too, admired many of the same ideas, which are embodied by *auctoritas*.

B. Autobiography

1. Roman (Latin)

Roman autobiography seems to have come into use later than biography, although no fixed date can be assigned.[32] Nothing of what might be called literary autobiography has survived, but one of the earliest references to such a work is found in Cicero. In *Brutus* 112 Cicero says that M. Aurelius Scaurus (consul 115 B.C.), a prominent political figure, composed an autobiography in three books.[33] According to Suetonius, Augustus had written what Suetonius calls "*de Vita Sua*"

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[32] As far as can be determined, the oldest autobiographical inscription in *CIL* is that of Scipio Hispanus (*CIL* 1.15), which dates from after 139 B.C. *CIL* 1.7, the earliest biographical inscription in the collection, antedates this by at least a century.

[33] *Huius* [Scaurus] *et orationes sunt et tres ad L. Fufidium libri scripti de vita ipsius...*; There are three books of orations of Scaurus on his own life, dedicated to L. Fufidius...; Gaius Gracchus had also written his life, as Cicero reports:...*ut C. Gracchus filius eius scriptum reliquit* (*de Divinatione* 1.36);...just as his son Gaius left a writing...

[*On His Own Life*]:[34]

> ..."*De Vita Sua*", *quam tredecim libris Cantabrico tenus bello nec ultra exposuit* (*Augustus* 85.1).
>
> ..."On His Own Life", which he [Augustus] set forth in thirteen books, going up to, but no further than, the Cantabrian war.

Although references to these writings survive, none of the autobiographies themselves are extant, making discussion of the literary form impossible.

What does survive is a significant number of "autobiographical" inscriptions, that is, monuments written in the first person.[35] The following epitaph is a typical example from the first century (?) B.C. of someone "speaking" in her own words (except for the last line, which is third person):[36]

> *cara mieis vixi virgo vitam reddidi*
> *mortua heic ego sum et sum cinis is cinis terrast*
> *sein est terra dea ego sum dea mortua non sum*
> *rogo te hospes noli ossa mea violare*
> *mus vixit annos XIII*
>
> A maiden dear to her family I have lived; I have given up life; I am here, dead, I am ashes; these ashes are earth. But if earth is a goddess I am a goddess; I am not dead. I ask you stranger, do not violate my bones. Mouse lived thirteen years.

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[34] Suetonius says the same of Tiberius and Claudius:...*commentario, quem de vita sua summatim breviterque composuit*...(*Tiberius* 61.1);...a commentary on his own life, which he composed summarily and briefly...; *Composuit et de vita sua octo volumina*...(*Claudius* 41.3); He composed a work on his own life in eight volumes...; See also *de Grammaticis* 12 (Sulla's autobiography).

[35] See the *index verborum* of *CIL* for key words - *ego*, *vixi* and other verbs in the first person.

[36] *CIL* 6.3587. The Papyrus Harris, discussed later, is an account of the reign of Ramses III written in a similar fashion. The historical section is in the first person, although it is clear that the document was prepared *after* the pharaoh's death. See J.H. Breasted (ed. and translator), *Ancient Records of Egypt*, New York, 1962, vol.IV, p.87f.

The inscription seems to be partly an imitation of a Greek poem.[37] Curiously, the girl is not named, unless part of the stone is missing, or unless her name was in fact Cara ("Dear") or Mus ("Mouse"), both possible terms of endearment.

A similar example of more secure date is found on the sarcophagus of Scipio Hispanus (praetor 139 B.C.; year of death unknown).[38] It reads, on the upper part:

> *Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio Hispanus*
> *Pr. Aid. Cur. Q.* *Tr. Mil. II Xvir Sl. Iudik*
> *X vir sacr. fac.*

> Gnaius Cornelius Scipio Hispanus, son of Gnaius, praetor, curule aedile, quaestor, military tribune, decemvir for judging cases, decemvir for public sacrifices.

Here the full name comes first, along with his father's (line 1), but followed immediately by his *res gestae*, secular and religious: *Pr(aetor)*, *Aid(ilis) Cur(ulis)*, *Q(aestor)*, *Tr(ibunus) Mil(itum)*, *decemvir s(t)l(itibus) iudik(andis)*, and *decemvir sacr(is) fac(iendis)*.[39] There follow below four lines of verse in the first person, apparently added some time later:[40]

> *virtutes generis mieis moribus accumulavi,*
> *progeniem genui, facta patris petiei,*
> *maiorum optenui laudem ut sibei me esse creatum*
> *laetentur, stirpem nobilitavit honor.*

> I have increased the virtues of my family because of my own character; I begat children; I strove to emulate the deeds of my father; I obtained the praise of my elders such that they rejoiced

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[37] Epicharmus (?): εἰμὶ νεκρὸς, νεκρὸς δὲ κόπρος, γῆ δ' ἡ κόπρος ἐστίν· / εἰ δέ τε γῆ θεὸς ἐστ', οὐ νεκρὸς ἀλλὰ θεός. See the discussion accompanying the inscription, *CIL* 6.3587.

[38] *CIL* 1.15.

[39] The last two (*decemvir*) are boards of ten who dealt with legal and religious matters respectively.

[40] The opinion of J.E. Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy*, (2nd ed.), Chicago, 1974, p.61.

at my birth; my honor has ennobled my descendants.

One could loosely call this epitaph autobiography, even if it were appended later. The "author" is identified, his *res gestae* recorded, then in brief and general terms he makes his claims to *virtus* ("excellence"), *laus* ("praise"), and *honor* ("esteem", "honour").

Another example, self-laudatory rather than funerary, records the deeds of P. Popilius (consul 132 B.C.; year of death unknown):[41]

[*P. Popilius C. f. cos.*]
viam fecei ab Regio ad Capuam et
in ea via ponteis omneis miliarios
tabelariosque poseivei hince sunt
Nouceriam meilia ⊥I *Capuam* XXCIIII
Muranum ⊥XXIIII *Cosentiam* CXXIIII
Valentiam C⊥XXX*! ad fretum ad*
statuam CCXXXI*! Regium meilia* CCC
suma ab Capua Regium meilia CCC
et eidem praetor in XXI*!*
Sicilia fugiteivos Italicorum
conquaeisivei redideique
homines DCCCCXVII *eidemque*
primus fecei ut de agro poplico
aratoribus cederent paastores *sic*
forum aedisque poplicas heic fecei

I [Publius Popilius, consul, son of Gaius] made the road from Regium to Capua and on this road I placed all bridges, milestones and signposts; from here [the original position of the stone is unknown] to Nuceria it is (?) miles; to Capua 84 miles, Muranum (?) miles, Cosentia 124 miles, Valentia (?) miles, the statue at the straits [of Messina] (?) miles, Regium 300 miles; the total from Capua to Regium, 300 miles. As praetor, I sought out the fugitives of the Italians in Sicily and returned 917 men; I was first to arrange that shepherds retreat from the public land for the ploughmen; I built a forum and public temples here.

Since Popilius' name appears nowhere else, it must have occupied the first (missing) line, following the usual pattern. Next is the road building, including bridges, milestones, and sign-posts - visible,

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[41] *CIL* 1.638. The restoration of the name seems certain. The inscription probably dates to the year of his consulship or soon after.

physical manifestations of his *auctoritas* - and a list of distances between various places. In line 9 Popilius shifts attention to his activities as praetor: capturing runaways, opening public land for cultivation, and constructing a forum and temples.

(1. Identification:)

[*P. Popilius C. f. cos.*]

2. Construction activities:

viam fecei ab Regio ad Capuam et
in ea via ponteis omneis miliarios
tabelariosque poseivei hince sunt
Nouceriam meilia ⊥I *Capuam* XXCIIII
Muranum IXXIIII *Cosentiam* CXXIIII
Valentiam C⊥XXX*! ad fretum ad*
statuam CCXXXI*! Regium Meilia* CCC
suma ab Capua Regium meilia CCC

3. *Res gestae*:

et eidem praetor in XXI*!*
Sicilia fugiteivos Italicorum
conquaeisivei redideique
homines DCCCCXVII *eidemque*
primus fecei ut de agro poplico
aratoribus cederent paastores *sic*
forum aedisque poplicas heic fecei

In Popilius' case, it is questionable whether overseeing the construction projects were tasks assigned or personal accomplishments, *res gestae*.

The epigraphic evidence for Roman autobiography dates from the early third century B.C. onwards. The inscriptional material follows somewhat loose formulae, depending on whether it is funerary, dedicatory, or honorary. The identity of the individual comes first, the one feature common to all, his full name and his father's (often abbreviated). Next might come the rank, offices held and *res gestae*, the date, or some indication of how well liked the person was, and (usually)

on the funerary inscriptions, the age of the deceased.

On the basis of the surviving evidence it appears that the autobiographical inscription antedates the biographical. Only educated guesses can be offered concerning the questions of age and priority, however: the surviving material no doubt represents a fraction of the whole that once existed. None of the literary autobiographies survive, as noted earlier.

There are differences between the *Res Gestae* and the other surviving inscriptions in this category, most obviously length. Nonetheless, Augustus' work is a type of autobiographical inscription. What sets the *RG* apart is its subject: not a consul, nor a praetor, nor an *eques*, nor a private citizen, but Augustus, *imperator divi Iuli filius* (emperor, son of the divine Julius); in other words, a head of state.[42] This is the "self glorification of the statesman", his declaration of *auctoritas*. Like the distinction between biography and autobiography, this is a label for convenience. In making his declaration of *auctoritas* Augustus is following a tradition long familiar outside Rome and Italy.

2. Non-Roman Predecessors of Augustus

Among the cultures east of Rome, the practice of kings and rulers extolling themselves for posterity goes back at least to the early second millennium B.C. These documents all have a common purpose, and that purpose dictates the content: to show the ruler as ideal, the

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[42] A consul was certainly a head of state as well, but only for a term of one year. I realize that it is a somewhat arbitrary distinction.

greatest man yet known in some way, or in every way. Because of their common purpose, the documents also exhibit typical characteristics to achieve that purpose. Since these writings tend to be longer than any of the epigraphic materials discussed so far, greater elaboration of their contents is possible. Some scholars have isolated criteria, or concentrated on one or two aspects of a document, for example Joel Drinkard.[43] In his studies of Semitic royal documents Drinkard has identified three characteristics typical of such writings: 1) Identity 2) Accomplishments 3) Curses on anyone who destroys the stone. His category 2) is general and vague.

During the examination of these documents, as stated earlier, eight characteristics became apparent which may be serve as criteria of the genre, and which (in specifically Roman terms) constitute eight aspects of *auctoritas*. The ordering of the information may vary, although the first two points (see below) are usually the first two items in this type of document: the author's identity and legitimacy are almost without exception the primary concern.

1. The identity of the ruler, including his full name and usually his father's, plus all his titles.

2. His legitimacy. To prove the legitimacy of his position he may cite a list of ancestors of appropriate lineage in addition to his father; if this is not possible, he will declare that it is the will of heaven and that the gods are on his side.[44] Connections with the divine

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[43] "The Literary Genre of The Mesha' Inscription", in *Studies In The Mesha' Inscription And Moab*, A. Dearman (ed.), Atlanta, 1989, p.139.

[44] In connection with this point, many of the prominent families in Rome claim illustrious ancestors: the Iulii claimed descent from Venus (see Suetonius, *Iulius* 6), through Aeneas and his son Iulus, the Marcii

and the institution of the ruler cult as a means to establish legitimacy and *auctoritas* were a normal part of the religious and political system in the east - especially in Egypt, where the king was regarded as Horus, the living son of Amun. This proof of legitimacy often involves a circular argument: I am favoured by heaven, therefore I am pious; I am pious, therefore I am favoured by heaven.

3. His successful military operations. The ruler is a mighty warrior who conquers foreign lands. If the state was in chaos at the time of his accession, he crushed the rebellion and restored order.

4. His justice, and the establishment of peace and prosperity throughout the land, logical results of the restoration of order. It is paradoxical that the ruler expects to be admired for these accomplishments as well as his military might.

5. His benevolence towards and concern for his subjects. The ruler builds roads, for example, or provides an adequate water supply.

6. His popularity among the people, a consequence of 3, 4, and 5 above.

7. His piety. The ruler makes frequent sacrifices in thanks for his success and prosperity and (re)builds temples. Heaven is his ally.

8. His prestige. The ruler is often given titles of universal authority, such as "king of kings", or "ruler of the known world", or is described as the bringer of peace and prosperity to the whole world. He has a direct link with heaven, or is perhaps divine himself. He has done things never done before, and yet at the same time, has restored or

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claimed descent from Ancus Martius (*Ibid.*), the emperor Galba from Jupiter and Pasiphaë (Suetonius, *Galba* 2), etc. Such pedigrees would have added to their prestige and legitimized their position as the ruling families.

maintained the traditional ways. His influence is unsurpassed; foreign rulers recognize his authority. In short, he has done and can do no wrong.

The cumulative effect of this information is that the ruler is presented as an example worthy of imitation or veneration (part of the reason for at least one of the following inscriptions is as a vehicle for the ruler cult).

The pattern outlined above can be seen in the following selection of royal inscriptions, and in one papyrus. The inscriptions date from the 19th century B.C. to the first century A.D., and the papyrus from c.1164 B.C. All the selected documents are written in the first person (though some have sections in the third person), and they include:

1. The law code of Lipit-Ishtar of Sumer, c.1900-c.1850 B.C.
2. The law code of Hammurabi of Babylon, c.1728-c.1686 B.C.
3. The inscription of Mesha' of Moab, c.830 B.C.
4. The inscription of Cyrus the Great of Persia, 557-529 B.C.
5. The Behistun inscription of Darius the Great of Persia, 521-486 B.C.
6. The so-called Morality Edicts of Ašoka of India, c.273-232 B.C.
7. The "self-deification" of Antiochus I of Kommagene, c.40 B.C.
8. The Papyrus Harris, on the reign of Ramses III, c.1195-c.1164 B.C.

Not every document exhibits all eight characteristics of the self-glorification of the statesman. Some characteristics may be absent or only mentioned in passing, while others are expanded upon, sometimes to the detriment of the intended effect. The purpose of the following discussion is to show that these documents do form a definable genre, the characteristics of which are also essential to the structure of the

Res Gestae of Augustus. The eight characteristics will be referred to by number in the discussion. None of the documents is quoted in full, but only as much as is necessary to illustrate the characteristics.

The prologue to the law code of Lipit-Ishtar begins in the third person with the establishment of his legitimate claim to the throne and his celestial authority:

> ...when [the deities] Anu (and) Enlil had called...Lipit-Ishtar, the wise shepherd...to the princeship of the land in order to establish justice in the land, to banish complaints, to turn back enmity and rebellion by the force of arms, (and) to bring well-being to the Sumerians and Akkadians...[45]

It is claimed that he has been summoned directly by the gods to restore order, which he apparently did. Five of the eight characteristics can be found in this short section: 1) Lipit-Ishtar, the wise shepherd; 2) Anu and Enlil summoned him; 3) he put down enmity and rebellion; 4) he brought well-being to his subjects, an act which is a sign of 5) his benevolence. He continues in the first person, saying that he did establish justice, and freed some people who had been enslaved (characteristics 4 and 5 again):

> ...then I...[estab]lished [jus]tice in [Su]mer and Akkad in accordance with the word of Enlil...I *procured*...the [fre]edom of the [so]ns and daughters of...[various places listed]...*upon whom*...slaveship...*had been imposed*.[46]

In the epilogue to the law code there is a kind of summary:

> Verily in accordance with the tr[ue word] of Utu, I caused [Su]mer and Akkad to hold to true justice. Verily in accordance with the pronouncement of Enlil, I, Lipit-Ishtar, the son of Enlil, *abolished* enmity and rebellion; made weeping, lamentations, outcries...taboo; caused righteousness and truth to exist; brought

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[45] J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, (2nd ed.), Princeton, 1955, p.159. Trans. by S.N. Kramer.
[46] *Ibid.*

well-being to the Sumerians and Akkadians...[47]

Characteristics 6 and 7 are absent; 8 is only implied.

The prologue and epilogue to the law code of Hammurabi are long and rambling - a collection of statements and relative clauses. Seven of the eight points are present, as the following selection illustrates:[48]

> ...at that time Anum and Enlil named me (2) to promote the welfare of the people, me, Hammurabi (1), the devout, god-fearing prince (7), to cause justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, that the strong might not oppress the weak (4, 5)...the warrior, he who spared Larsa (3)...the one who strides through the four quarters of the world (8)...the pious, suppliant one (7)...

Hammurabi exhibits over and over all the characteristics except 6, popularity among the people, which is not present.

The Mesha' inscription records the dedication of an altar to Kemosh, a Canaanite god, in thanks for victory in battle. He begins with identification and legitimacy:[49]

> I am Mesha' son of Kemosh[yat], king of Moab, the Daibonite (1). My father ruled over Moab thirty years, and I ruled after my father (2). I made this high place [i.e. altar] for Kemosh in Qarhoh (7)...because he delivered me from all the kings, and because he let me prevail over all my enemies (3).

He goes on to describe some of his military campaigns and building activities:

> Now Kemosh said to me, "Go and seize Nebo from Israel."...I seized it and killed everyone of [it]...I built Qarhoh: the walls of the parks and the walls of the acropolis. I built the palace and made the retaining walls of the reservoi[r for the spr]ing insi[de] the city (5)...I rule[d over] hundreds in the cities which I had annexed to the country (8).

The establishment of justice, peace, prosperity (characteristic 4) is

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[47] *Ibid.* p.161.

[48] *Ibid.* prologue p.164f; epilogue p.177f. Trans. by T.J. Meek.

[49] Trans. by K.P.Jackson, "The Language of the Mesha Inscription", *Studies In The Mesha Inscription And Moab*, Atlanta, 1989, pp.97-98.

not present, although it is implied. Characteristic 6 (popularity) is absent.

The inscription of Cyrus the Great recording his defeat of Babylon is unique in one aspect: it begins with a narrative in the third person about the shortcomings of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, whom Cyrus conquered. The story then shifts to the anger of the god Marduk towards Nabonidus on account of the latter's incompetence. Cyrus is not named until well into the document, thus characteristics 1 and 2 are delayed. Not the ruler of Babylonia by right of ancestry, Cyrus claims divine authority:[50]

> (Then) he [Marduk] pronounced the name of Cyrus, king of Anshan, to be(come) the ruler of all the world (1, 2, 8). He made the Guti country and all the Manda-hordes bow in submission to his [i.e. Cyrus'] feet. And he [Cyrus] did always endeavour to treat according to justice the black-headed whom he [Marduk] has made him conquer (3, 5)...His widespread troops - their number, like that of the water of a river, could not be established (3)....All the inhabitants of Babylon as well as of the entire country of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors (included), bowed to him [Cyrus] and kissed his feet, jubilant that he (had received) the kingship (6)...

Approximately the first half of the inscription is in the third person. The first person narrative begins with Cyrus identifying himself more fully and establishing his legitimacy:

> I am Cyrus, king of the world, great king, legitimate king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four rims (of the earth), son of Cambyses, great king, king of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, great king, king of Anshan, descendant of Teispes, great king, king of Anshan, of a family (which) always (exercised) kingship; whose rule [the deities] Bel and Nebo love, whom they want as king to please their hearts (1, 2, 8).

The rest of the inscription rambles from topic to topic: his good works for the citizens, his piety, his justice:

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[50] Pritchard (1955) pp.315-316. Trans. by A.L. Oppenheim.

> I strove for peace in Babylon and in all his [Marduk's](other) sacred cities (4)...I abolished the corvée...I brought relief to their dilapidated housing (5)...I returned to (these) sacred cities...the sanctuaries of which have been ruins for a long time, the images which (used) to live therein and established for them permanent sanctuaries (7)...

All eight characteristics are present in this inscription.

The Behistun inscription of Darius the Great recording his suppression of rebellions is considerably longer than any discussed so far. It begins with characteristics 1 and 2. The speaker goes on at length concerning his legitimacy:[51]

> I am Darius, the king, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid, king of kings, a Persian, king of Persia. King Darius states: My father was Hystaspes; the father of Hystaspes was Arsames; the father of Arsames was Ariaramnes; the father of Ariaramnes was Teispes; the father of Teispes was Achaemenes...for this reason we say that we are the line of Achaemenids. From the beginning we have been nobles. From the beginning our family have been their kings...eight among my family administered the kingship before me. I am the ninth. Nine kings of eternal lineage are we...under the protection of Ahura Mazda I am king. Ahura Mazda gave me the kingship (sections 1-5).

Darius brings up the matter of legitimacy again a few lines further down. In between he lists the countries which obey him (sections 6-7):

> ...these are the lands which obey me. Under the protection of Ahura Mazda I became their king. [list of 23 countries]...Tribute they bring to me. That which is ordered from my presence, that they perform, whether by night or by day (8).

Later he says more about his prestige:

> Among the kings who reigned before me there was not one who accomplished as much as I accomplished (section 48).

Concerning his justice and benevolence (4, 5) he says:

> Within these lands the trustworthy man I fully protect. The man of

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[51] *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* pt.1 vol.2 *The Behistun Inscription of Darius the Great. Babylonian Version*, Elizabeth Von Voigtlander (ed. and trans.), London, 1978, pp.54-62. I shall refer to the inscription by section as it is laid out in this edition.

> evil intent I thoroughly investigate. Under the protection of Ahura Mazda I made my laws effective within these lands (section 8).
>
> For this reason Ahura Mazda and all the gods supported me: I was not of evil intent, nor did I lie. I did no injustice, neither I nor my family. I proceeded according to the laws. Neither to the powerful nor to the weak have I done injustice. To the man who aids my house I give full protection. The man who does wrong I vigorously prosecute (section 51).

The greater part of the inscription (sections 10-43) recounts the series of rebellions and the suppression of them (3), with a few digressions. One of the digressions is section 13:

> The kingship which he [Gaumata, a usurper] had carried off from our line, I brought back just as before. I restored it to its place. I rebuilt the temples of the gods which that Gaumata, the Magush, had torn down (7). I gave back to the army the herds, the flocks, the fields, (and) hired workers...I resettled the populace in its place (4, 5).

The remainder of the inscription (sections 44-55) consists of curses on those who would destroy it, exhortations to the reader to believe what it says, and finally, a list of his allies. Every characteristic except 6 is represented.

The Morality Edicts of Ašoka Maurya may not be considered by some to fit the genre of the self-glorifying autobiographical narrative. Their main purpose is not so much the glorification of Ašoka as exhortations to his subjects to be good and just; it is not one inscription, but a group; some of them are entirely in the third person; it is not possible to find more than three of the eight characteristics in any one inscription. Taken as a whole, however, six of the eight characteristics are represented in the Morality Edicts.

The tone of Ašoka's inscriptions is different from those examined so far. He is named in all of them (1), but he is not the least

concerned with proving his legitimacy (2) - the matter never arises. His military accomplishments (3) are mentioned only briefly in one of the third person edicts (Rock Edict 13):

> Eight years after his coronation King Devanampiya Piyadasi [Ašoka] conquered the Kalingas. In that (conquest) one hundred and fifty thousand people were deported (as prisoners), one hundred thousand were killed (or maimed) and many times that number died.[52]

It is stated more than once that there is peace and prosperity in the land (4), because the king urges the people to be moral (Kandahar Inscription):

> Ten years after his coronation [king Ašoka] began to follow the true pattern of life. After that evil decreased for all men and misfortune disappeared due to the exertion of the king. There was peace and happiness all over the earth.[53]

There are also implied in the above passage characteristics 5, benevolence towards his subjects, and 8, prestige (peace and happiness *all over the earth*). Exhortations to morality can be equated with piety (7) and benevolence (5), the characteristics that are the most prevalent in Ašoka's inscriptions. The king does not only urge others towards morality, but he also repeatedly states that he follows the way of morality as well (Rock Edict 5):

> I have performed much that is benevolent.[54]
>
> ...I regard the welfare of the people as my chief duty.[55]
>
> All men are my children.[56]
>
> Since he [Ašoka] was crowned fourteen years ago ...[he] enlarged

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[52] B. G. Gokhale, *Asoka Maurya*, New York, 1966, p.157. Trans. by the author (?).

[53] *Ibid.*, p.164. There is extant a *Greek* version of this inscription. See *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, p.1f.

[54] *Ibid.* p.153.

[55] *Ibid.* p.154 (Rock Edict 6).

[56] *Ibid.* p.159 (Separate Rock Edict 1).

the Stupa of the former Buddha Konagamana, for the second time.[57] Characteristic 6 (popularity) is absent.

The "self-deification" of Antiochus I is certainly self praise, but like the Morality Edicts of Ašoka, it's tone is somewhat different from the previous documents. Even so, the inscription has four of the eight characteristics. The cult of the ruler was a well established institution in the east, and this inscription is partly a vehicle for that cult.[58] About half of the work consists of rules for observing Antiochus' cult and that of other deities; a sort of introduction precedes in which Antiochus begins with identification, legitimacy, and a mention in passing to his military might (1, 2, 3):[59]

[Βασιλευς μέ]γας Ἀντίοχος θεὸς
Δίκαιος [Ἐπιφ]αν[ὴς] Φιλορωμαῖος καὶ
Φιλέ[λλ]ην, ὁ ἐκ βασιλέως Μιθραδά-
του Καλλινίκου καὶ βασιλίσσης Λαο-
δ[ίκ]ης θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου τῆς ἐκ βασι-
λέω[ς] Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς Φιλο-
μήτορος Καλλινίκου...

...τὴν αὐτήν [τὴν εὐσέβειαν] τε κρίσιν καὶ
δυνάμεως εὐτυχοῦς καὶ χρήσεως
μακαριστῆς αἰτίαν ἔσχον...

Great king Antiochus Theos Dikaios Epiphanes, friend of Rome and Philhellene, son of king Mithradates Kallinikos and queen Laodike Thea Philadelphos, daughter of king Antiochus Epiphanes Philometor Kallinikos...

...I held this choice [piety] also to be the cause of my army's good luck and most blessed power...

Like Ašoka, Antiochus was very concerned with piety (7), both his own and that of his subjects. A few passages will suffice to illustrate.

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[57] *Ibid.* p.164.

[58] See D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult In The Latin West*, New York, 1987, vol. I,1 *passim*.

[59] *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (*OGIS*), W. Dittenberger (ed.), Hildesheim, 1960, no. 383.

Ἐγὼ πατρώιαν [ἀ]ρχὴν [π]αρ[αλ]α[β]ὼν
25 βασιλείαν [μ]ὲν ἐμο[ῖ]ς ὑπήκοον θρό-
νοις κοινὴν θεῶν ἁπάντων εὐσεβείαι γνώμης ἐμῆς
δίαιταν απέδειξα...

Upon taking over my ancestral realm I proclaimed the pious decision that the kingdom subject to my throne should be the common abode of all the gods...

67 ...χώραν ἱκανὴν καὶ προ-
σόδους ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀκινήτους εἰς θυσι-
ῶν πολυτέλειαν ἀπένειμα...

...I assigned sufficient land and its continuous revenues for the expense of sacrifices...

105 ...διαμονῆς δὲ τούτων ἕνεκεν
ἣν ἐμ φρονίμοις ἀνδράσι εὐσεβὲς
ἀεὶ τηρεῖν...

...For the sake of the perpetuation of these things, which it would be pious for wise men to observe...

The introduction concludes at line 122, after threats of the terrible fate of impious people, specifically those who fail to perform the sacrifices as laid out in the remainder of the inscription.

The Papyrus Harris is unique among the documents under discussion in that it is not an inscription. It is a statement of account of the Egyptian nation at the death of Ramses III, and includes an historical section on the pharaoh's reign. It was deposited in his tomb, and thus is not a public document.[60] Just as the inscription of Cyrus does, the narrative begins with events leading up to Ramses III's accession: the state was formerly in chaos and rebellion; his predecessor Setnakht, who apparently was not his father, restored order and appointed Ramses as his heir. As with the inscription of Cyrus, characteristic 2 is delayed, (but not 1). Ramses felt it necessary first to establish the legitimacy

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[60] There are public inscriptions detailing Ramses' career as well. See Pritchard (1955) pp.262-3.

of his predecessor:[61]

> Said King Usermare-Meriamon [Ramses III]...the land of Egypt was ⌈overthrown from without⌉, and every man was (⌈thrown⌉ out) of his right...Egypt was in the hands of chiefs and of the rulers of towns; one slew his neighbour, great and small...they made the gods like men, and no offerings were presented in the temples...but when the gods inclined themselves to peace, to set the land (⌈in⌉) its right according to its accustomed manner, they established their son...Userkhare-Setepnere-Meriamon [Setnakht]...he set in order the entire land...

Having established the legitimacy of Setnakht, Ramses justifies his own position:[62]

> He [Setnakht] appointed me to be hereditary prince...(after Setnakht died) then my father, Amon-Re, lord of gods, Re-Atum, and Ptah...crowned me as Lord of the Two Lands [Egypt] on the throne of him who begat me...

Egypt continued to be at peace and the people liked Ramses (4, 6):[63]

> ...the land rested and rejoiced in possession of peace, being joyful at seeing me as ruler...

After a short section on internal organization, Ramses describes his military achievements at some length (3), of which a short quote will suffice:[64]

> I extended all the boundaries of Egypt; I overthrew those who invaded them [Egyptians] from their [invaders'] lands...

Ramses does not go on at length about his piety (7), but there are a few scattered references to his pious acts:

> I gave them [captives] to the gods, as slaves into their house[s] (p.201).
>
> I led their [the vanquished] cattle into the house of Amon (p.202).
>
> I gave them [captives] to all the gods of this land...(p.204)

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[61] Breasted (1962) vol.IV, pp.198-9.
[62] *Ibid.* p.199-200.
[63] *Ibid.* p.200.
[64] *Ibid.* p.201-2.

> There were brought for her [Hathor] silver, gold, royal linen, mek-linen, and many things into her presence, like the sand (p.204).
>
> I did good to the gods...(p.205)

There is one section devoted to Ramses' good deeds at home (5) (p.204-5). Again, a few quotes will suffice:

> I planted the whole land with trees...and I made the people to dwell in their shade...I made the women of Egypt to go...to the place she desired, (for) no stranger nor any one upon the road molested her. I made the infantry and chariotry to dwell (at home)...I sustained alive the whole land...

There are several references to the king's prestige (8):

> I extended all the boundaries of Egypt (p.201).
>
> Their chief's children were in adoration before me, kissing the earth, prostrate before me (p.204).
>
> It [Atika, an unknown place] has not been heard (of) before, since kings reign (p.204).
>
> They [the gifts to Hathor mentioned above] had not been seen before, since kings reign (p.204).

Thus the Papyrus Harris exhibits all eight characteristics.

3. Comparative Analysis

The aim of the writers of these documents is thus to show that the ruler has the qualities which the Romans would comprise in the term *auctoritas*. The ruler is an ideal man, almost a hero, and certainly a role model. It should not be surprising, however, that rulers say only good things about themselves. The declaration of *auctoritas* is the goal, and the characteristics listed in categories 1 to 7 are offered by the authors as proof of their *auctoritas*. All eight characteristics reveal something of the ideals of the societies in which the ruler lived; even something as matter-of-fact as one's name (1) and one's father's name

play a part in establishing legitimacy - the young Octavius, for example, realized that being the son of a god could be advantageous and began calling himself *divi Iuli filius* soon after the dictator's deification.[65] The ruler must be perceived as legitimately occupying his position. His virility and courage are always made manifest by successful military operations. He tells the reader he has conquered large territories, captured or slain multitudes, and that rulers of other lands have paraded before him. If the land were in revolt at his accession, he restored order and punished the culprits. On the other hand, he affirms his kindness to his own subjects by providing food, for example, or public works such as roads, parks, and water supplies. The people are fond of him because of this. The gods are equally fond of him, which is why he is ruling in the first place: in fact, it was with their help and/or approval that he became ruler. For this he is of course grateful, and inclined to (re)build temples and make generous sacrifices. All this information in some instances results in a more or less complete (self) portrait: the ruler's *res gestae* are present, which one expects to read in an historical account, and his character (*vita* or *βιος*) is revealed, which one expects to find in the works of biographers.

The eight characteristics might also be applied to the documents discussed under the headings epigraphic and literary biography, and Roman autobiography. Because of the brevity of the inscriptions, however, one should not expect to find detailed information in them. Nonetheless, the dedication of Mummius (see p.7), for example, displays

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[65] See Fishwick (1987) p.76.

five of the eight characteristics. His identity is first (1), then his military operations (3) performed as consul (2), his piety, indicated in the dedication of the temple (7), and his prestige, or *auctoritas* (8), evident throughout, and particularly in his triumph awarded for tasks well done. In the literary biographies the authors had more scope and so one may expect to find all of the eight characteristics. But because of the nature of the literary biographies there is little emphasis on their subject's military accomplishments (which would come under the heading of "great deeds", or *res gestae*).

While there are points of similarity among all the documents discussed, there are also minor differences and variations on formulae, dependant upon the particular desires of the authors. Ašoka and Antiochus emphasize their concern with religion and morality; Popilius is keen to make known his building activities; Scipio Hispanus (or his family) is content to list the offices he held and include a four line verse inscription in which he "speaks" about himself in general and abstract terms. The intention of the writers may not have been specifically to record their "lives" - the purpose of the Law Code of Hammurabi, for example, was ostensibly to record the laws of the land, to which the author chose to add his declaration of *auctoritas* in the prologue and epilogue. Some of these documents were made public during the lifetimes of their authors (or subjects), but others not until after their deaths. The Papyrus Harris, on the other hand, was not a public record at all, and its author presumably did not expect that it would ever be read by mortals.

In the next chapter it is shown how Augustus, as narrator of his own life, uses this formula to build a picture of his own *auctoritas* which projects him as a "unique creation".

Chapter II

Augustus' *Res Gestae* as Autobiography

Suetonius reports (*Augustus* 101) that the *Res Gestae* was one of four sealed rolls deposited by Augustus in the state records office, along with instructions for his funeral, his will, and a sort of "state of the union" account showing the condition of the various treasuries and the positions of the troops throughout the empire. The *RG* was lost entirely until a copy came to light on the walls of the temple of Augustus and Rome in Ankara, Turkey, in the sixteenth century.[66] This nearly complete copy, with both Latin and Greek versions, is supplemented by a few shorter passages found at other sites.

Augustus' *Res Gestae* is much longer than any of the documents discussed in Chapter I, but his purpose in writing his "life" was substantially the same. This "life" contains more detail and was more carefully thought out, but it follows a pattern strongly reminiscent of the documents discussed in Chapter I (B). Augustus was conscious of what he was trying to accomplish in undertaking his autobiography: to establish himself as a role model by virtue of his possession of supreme *auctoritas*. He even goes so far as to boast that he has achieved this goal. Near the beginning of the *RG* he proclaims: "I myself have imparted many examples worthy of imitation..."; and near the end he plainly states, "Since that time I have surpassed everyone in prestige,

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[66] For the discovery of the text and its reconstruction over the next few centuries, see any commentary of the *RG*, for example Brunt and Moore (1967), p.1f; Ramage (1987), p.120f.

influence, wisdom, experience, and leadership".[67] Augustus' acquisition of and worthiness to claim *auctoritas* is his ultimate accomplishment. Was Augustus familiar with such works as discussed in Chapter I? He must surely have known of the Latin biographical and autobiographical traditions, both literary and epigraphic;[68] but what of, for example, the Behistun inscription, or the law code of Hammurabi? The question is unanswerable in the case of specific documents, but Augustus may have been familiar with the *type*. In fact, the similarities between the *RG* and the previous documents are so striking that it is tempting to conclude that the type at least was known in Rome; the eastern cultures had a profound effect on the Roman in many aspects. It is possible, and I should say probable, that the autobiographical inscription of the head of state was familiar to the Romans by the time of Augustus. An inscription such as the self-deification of Antiochus owes its existence in part to the well-known eastern tradition of the ruler cult. With the deification of Julius Caesar this tradition can be seen entering Roman society on an official level.[69]

It is not feasible, because of its length, to go through the entire *RG* and point out what sections display which of the eight characteristics. In the discussion of the similarities of the *RG* to the above documents I shall chose relevant passages to establish the

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[67] *...ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi* (8.5); *Post id tempus auctoritate omnibus praestiti...*(34.3). The word *auctoritas* conveys all of the meanings in my translation.

[68] Augustus received the usual education for a Roman of his class, in rhetoric, philosophy, literature etc.; see Suetonius *Augustus* 8; 84; 89.

[69] Julius Caesar was the first Roman leader to be awarded divine honours by the senate, although other Romans certainly were so honoured in the east. See Fishwick (1987) p.56f. For the appearance of the ruler cult in the west, see *Ibid.* p.46f.

presence of each characteristic, in greater detail than thus far. The purpose of this chapter is to show how the *RG* exhibits the eight characteristics and thus belongs in the same genre as the documents already discussed (Chapter I.B.2). The characteristics will be discussed in the order listed in Chapter I (p.21). The Latin text of the *RG* followed is that of Brunt and Moore (1967).

1. Augustus' identity. In the copy of the *RG* which survives, Augustus is identified in the prescript, which was not part of the original work (see footnote 70). Augustus does not specifically refer to himself by name, although he mentions the festival of the Augustalia named after him in 11, the forum Augustum in 21.1, and his title "Augustus" in 34.2. One must conclude that there was some other way that the reader would know who was "speaking". According to Suetonius, Augustus left instructions that the original *RG* be set up before his mausoleum in Rome.[70] The name "Augustus" must have appeared there somewhere, or else the emperor assumed anyone would know his identity. Augustus never mentions his biological father, Gaius Octavius, although several times he refers to his adoptive father Julius Caesar, either as *parens* or *pater*;[71] never by name.

2. His legitimacy. A superficial reading of the *RG* might suggest that Augustus was little concerned about the legality of his position. Beneath the surface, however, there are clear indications that his legitimacy was of great importance. But he faced two problems: he was

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[70] *Augustus* 101. The prescript of the only surviving copy (in Ankara, Turkey) of the *RG* states that the original is inscribed on two bronze pillars before Augustus' tomb.

[71] *parens*, 2; *pater*, 10.2; 15.1; 20.3.

unable to produce a list of ancestors of appropriate lineage, because he was not a monarch. It was customary in the religious and political structures east of Rome for rulers to be in direct contact with or even directly related to deities, as I have mentioned, to establish their legitimacy and *auctoritas*. Of the documents discussed in Chapter I (part B.2), all except that of King Ašoka claim direct contact with the divine. This option, like the list of ancestors of appropriate pedigree, was not available to Augustus: such bold claims of divinity or divine favour would not be well thought of in Rome, at least not at that time.[72] Augustus chose instead to establish his legitimacy by proving his *auctoritas*. This choice posed the second problem: having been *de facto* sole ruler for so many years (an unpleasant concept to the average Roman), how could he make it appear that he had *not* been sole ruler without undermining the very *auctoritas* he was trying to establish? In 34.1 Augustus asserts that he was in complete control of the state *by consent of all* (*per consensum universorum*), then he handed power back to the senate and people (28-27 B.C.).[73] Augustus stresses that he had not taken any office or title contrary to Roman usage, and that he had acted with the approval of senate and people (ignoring any instances that may

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[72] But see *RG* 9.1: prayers (or vows) to be undertaken for Augustus' health (*vota pro mea valetudine...*), and 10.1, the insertion of his name into the hymn of the Salii, and the inviolability of his person. Suetonius reports (*Augustus* 52.1) that temples to popular proconsuls in the East were common, but Augustus would never allow a temple to himself alone. Suetonius also says (*Julius Caesar* 6) that Caesar connected his family to Venus. On the differences between ruler, hero, and god worship or cult, see Fishwick (1987) p.32f.

[73] *...per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli;...*having obtained full control of the state by the consent of all, I returned power to the senate and people of Rome.

contradict him):

> *Res publica ne quid detrimenti caperet, me propraetore simul cum consulibus providere iussit* (1.3).
>
> As propraetor I, with the consuls, was ordered [by the senate] to see that the republic should come to no harm.
>
> *Qui parentem meum trudicaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus...*(2)
>
> By due legal process I drove into exile the murderers of my father, avenging their crime...
>
> *Consul fueram terdeciens...et eram septimum et tricensimum tribuniciae potestatis* (4.4).
>
> I have been consul thirteen times, and held *tribunicia potestas* thirty-seven times.
>
> *...nullum magistratum contra morem maiorum delatum recepi. Quae tum per me geri senatus voluit, per tribuniciam potestatem perfeci* (6.1-2).
>
> ...I accepted no magistracy contrary to the usage handed down by our ancestors. The measures the senate then wished me to perform I carried out through [my] *tribunicia potestas*.
>
> *Triumvirum rei publicae constituendae fui per continuos annos decem. Princeps senatus fui...per annos quadraginta. Pontifex maximus, augur, XV virum sacris faciundis, VII virum epulonum, frater arvalis, sodalis Titius, fetialis fui* (7.1-3).
>
> For ten consecutive years I was *triumvir* for the organization of the republic. I have been *princeps* of the senate...for forty years. I have been high priest, augur, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis, septemvir epulonum, frater arvalis, sodalis Titius*, and *fetialis*.[74]

The machinery of republican government appears to be intact. The list of magistracies held portrays Augustus as an authorized official of the Roman state, even if he had not gone through the usual *cursus honorum*, the normal (republican) series of offices: military service, military tribune, quaestor, aedile, praetor, consul. In *RG* 1.3 he is already a

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[74] All of these except *princeps* (first citizen) are religious offices. Those left untranslated do not admit to easy translation.

propraetor, in 1.4 he is consul, still only nineteen years old (*eodem anno* - "in the same year", 43 B.C.). The senate and people order, authorize, and instruct Augustus: *Populus autem eodem anno me consulem...creavit* ("Moreover, in the same year the people made me consul"; 1,4); *...iussu populi et senatus...*("by order of the people and senate"; 8.1); *Ex senatus auctoritate...*("by the authority of the senate"; 12.1, 20.4).

Suetonius says (*Augustus* 2) that he obtained his information on the emperor's early life from "other sources" because it is *not* in Augustus' own writings:

> *Sed haec alii; ipse Augustus nihil amplius quam equestri familia ortum se scribit, vetere ac locuplete, et in qua primus senator pater suus fuerit.*
>
> But this information others [have recorded]; Augustus himself writes no more than that he came from a wealthy old equestrian family, in which his father was the first senator.

It seems, in fact, that Augustus did not exist before age nineteen, for he begins the *RG* at that point, upon the death of Julius Caesar, like the scion of a god, sprung forth fully grown. It is as if he were suggesting that he was Caesar's successor not only in financial terms, but in political terms as well (a further boost to his claim to legitimacy and *auctoritas*). But here Augustus must be careful. He does not stress his relation to Julius Caesar precisely because he does *not* want to appear to be setting up a dynasty, for such a thing would be distasteful to public opinion and contrary to Roman *mores*.

3. His military accomplishments. There is a great deal of material which portrays Augustus as an outstanding military commander. This should be expected, since military ability was much admired among the

Romans (as among most people throughout history):

> *Annos undeviginti natus exercitum...comparavi...per quem rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi* (1.1)
>
> At the age of nineteen...I raised an army...by which I restored liberty to the republic oppressed by faction.
>
> *Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi...*(3.1)
>
> Often I waged war, civil and external, by land and sea, throughout the world...
>
> *Naves cepi sescentas praeter eas si quae minores quam triremes fuerunt* (3.4).
>
> I captured six hundred ships, apart from those smaller than triremes.
>
> *Bis ovans triumphavi et tris egi curules triumphos et appellatus sum viciens et semel imperator...*(4.1)
>
> I had two ovations, three curule triumphs, and was saluted as *imperator* twenty-one times...
>
> *In triumphis meis ducti sunt ante currum meum reges aut regum liberi novem* (4.3).
>
> In my triumphs nine kings or children of kings were led before my chariot.
>
> *Mare pacavi a praedonibus* (25.1). I cleared the sea of pirates.
>
> *Omnium provinciarum populi Romani quibus finitimae fuerunt gentes quae non parerent imperio nostro fines auxi* (26.1).
>
> I increased the territory of all the provinces on whose borders dwelt people not subject to our power.[75]

This is not an exhaustive list. Like Cyrus, Darius, and Ramses, Augustus had to crush rebellion and restore order. His wars ranged over the entire world, other rulers were paraded in public, he enlarged the territory of the empire; a remarkable career indeed. He makes no mention

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[75] Sections 26-30 are entirely concerned with military matters.

of military failures or acts of unjust aggression (not surprisingly). But Suetonius remarks (*Augustus* 20) that Augustus only commanded two foreign campaigns in person.

4. His establishment of justice, peace, and prosperity. Like *auctoritas*, justice is a broad concept that can be found throughout the *RG* in various manifestations. Augustus' desire to see justice carried out has already been touched on: he avenges the murder of his father, and does nothing contrary to Roman law or custom. The boundary between an act of justice and an act of, for example, benevolence, is often hard to distinguish. Such a blurring occurs in Augustus' preference to spare rather than exterminate conquered peoples, a preference that could be considered both just and benevolent:[76]

> *Externas gentes, quibus tuto ignosci potuit, conservare quam excidere malui* (3.2).
>
> Foreign peoples who could safely be pardoned I preferred to protect rather than to destroy.

His refusal to be made pontifex maximus before the previous one had died (the office was a lifetime appointment) is at once just and pious (10.2), as was his replacement of the ornaments in the temples of Asia Minor (24.1). On the other hand, there is no blurring of boundaries in the elimination of pirates from the sea (25.1). It is an act of justice, law and order, as Augustus' choice of verb, *pacavi*,[77] indicates. His clearance of the seas would have allowed trade to be carried on and to

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[76] Compare Vergil's *Aenead* 6.851-3: *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento / (hae tibi erunt artes), pacisque imponere morem, / parcere subiectis et debellare superbos;* Remember, Roman, that these will be your skills: to rule peoples with empire, to impose the way of peace, to spare the conquered, to overcome the arrogant.

[77] *mare pacavi a praedonibus. Pacare* may mean "pacify (by force)", "bring under control", "make peaceful", or "force a settlement upon".

increase unhindered, and would thus have helped to restore prosperity.

After so many years of civil war the restoration of peace must have seemed miraculous, and Augustus makes much of his own role in the process. He mentions the *ara pacis Augustae*, the altar of Augustan peace, which the senate voted to set up (12.2); that he brought peace to Gaul, Spain, Germany and the Alps (26.2-3), in fact, the whole state (1.1); that he had extinguished the civil wars (34.1); and perhaps most impressively, that the gates of the temple of Janus were shut three times while he was *princeps* (which only happened when there was peace throughout the empire) but only twice before in the entire history of Rome (13).[78]

5. His benevolence towards and concern for his "subjects". Augustus could not, of course, refer to the Roman people as his subjects; the relation between himself and the people presented in the *RG* is cast in terms of Roman social structure, a patron and his clients.[79] Indeed, the title *pater patriae* (father of [his] country; see 6, below), which dates from republican times, both reflects and owes its existence to this institution. Augustus cites many instances of his benevolence, right from the beginning of the *RG* (3.1):

> ...*victorque omnibus veniam petentibus civibus peperci*.
>
> ...as victor I spared all citizens who sought mercy.

Sections 15 through 23 of the *RG* consist of a careful annotation of Augustus' expenditures and doles on behalf of the people and state. He

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[78] 29 B.C., 25 B.C., and another occasion of unknown date. Some scholars dismiss the statement that the gates had only been shut twice before, e.g. Brunt and Moore (1967) p.54f.

[79] As has been noted by Ramage (1987) p.43f, among others.

made huge cash payments[80] to the urban plebs (15.1-2), colonists (15.3), soldiers (16.2), the state treasury (17) and towns (16.1), as well as gifts of grain (5.2, 15.1, 18). Not only did Augustus hand out money, but he turned it down when others offered it to him. He tells us (21.3) that whenever he was saluted as *imperator* (twenty-one times; 4.1) he refused the gold sent by the *municipia* (local governments). Sections 19 to 21 list Augustus' construction and restoration work, including the Capitol, temples, markets, theatres, roads, bridges, and other projects. Sections 22 and 23 concern the games and shows Augustus put on for the people, including the mock naval battle on an artificial lake (23). As Ramage points out,[81] these *impensae* (expenses) illustrate Augustus' generosity in three areas of Roman life: civil, military, and religious, and Augustus presents the facts of his achievements in such a way that demonstrates his unique leadership in all three spheres.

6. His popularity among the people. Augustus lists several indications of his popularity. In the first paragraph of the *RG* the people (*populus*) make him consul (1.4). Some half a million men took the oath of obedience to him:

> *Millia civium Romanorum sub sacramento meo fuerunt circiter quingenta* (9.3).
>
> About 500,000 Roman citizens took the military oath of obedience to me.

There were thanksgivings offered because of Augustus' successful management of affairs:

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[80] *Appendix* 1 of the *RG* states that they amounted to 2.4 *billion* sesterces, an enormous sum.

[81] Ramage (1987) p.18.

Ob res a me aut per legatos meos auspicis meis terra marique prospere gestas quinquagiens decrevit senatus supplicandum esse dis immortalibus. Dies autem, per quos senatus consulto supplicatum est, fuere DCCCLXXXX (4.2)

The senate decreed that there should be thanksgivings offered to the gods on fifty-five occasions because of my successes or those of my legates by land and sea. The [total] number of days on which there were thanksgivings by decree of the senate was eight hundred and ninety.

Consuls, priests, and citizens undertook vows for Augustus' health:

Vota pro valetudine mea suscipi per consules et sacerdotes quinto quoque anno senatus decrevit (9.1)

Vows for my health were decreed every fifth year to be undertaken by the consuls and priests.

Privatim etiam et municipatim universi cives unanimiter contintentur apud omnia pulvinaria pro valetudine mea supplicaverunt (9.2).

Every citizen has unanimously and continuously offered prayers for my health at all the *pulvinaria*, both as individuals and on behalf of their towns.

When he returned from the east (19 B.C.) a delegation was sent out from the city to welcome him home (12.1):

Ex senatus auctoritate pars praetorum et tribunorum plebi cum consule Q. Lucretio et principibus viris obviam mihi missa est in Campaniam, qui honos ad hoc tempus nemini praeter me est decretus.

With the approval of the senate some of the praetors and tribunes with the consul Quintus Lucretius and leading citizens were sent to meet me in Campania, an honour that no-one before me has received.

Augustus received the additional title *pater patriae*[82] in 2 B.C.:

...senatus et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus appellavit me patrem patriae...(34.1)

...the senate and equestrian order and entire Roman people entitled me father of the country...

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[82] Quite literally, "father of [his] fatherland", a high honour. It is the Roman equivalent to the Semitic "shepherd of the people".

7. His piety. Augustus' religious offices have already been mentioned (see p.41), which are listed in *RG* 7.3. He says (20.4) that he restored 82 temples in his sixth consulship (28 B.C.). This seems to be in addition to those temples already mentioned and those mentioned subsequently (19.1-21.2). He replaced the ornaments in the temples of Asia Minor, and about 80 statues of himself he melted down and with the cash made offerings to Apollo (24.1-2). Anything Augustus relates concerning religious matters is in purely Roman terms, that is, he uses only the Roman names for all deities and festivals.[83]

8. His prestige, or *auctoritas*.[84] *Auctoritas* is a broad concept to which all the previous seven characteristics contribute. The first four characteristics, identity, legitimacy, military operations and establishment of justice, peace, and prosperity, show who he is and what he has accomplished (his *res gestae*). The next three, benevolence, popularity, and piety, show what sort of person he is (his *vita* or *βιος*). The eighth characteristic, prestige, is the not only combination of all of these traits, but in Augustus it is also something greater than the sum. In the words of Grant, *auctoritas* is a "*magic property*;...Every office, every power, every success...enhanced the inherited *auctoritas* of Augustus until it became his unique and personal attribute or characteristic, enabling him to act (in a way not permitted to mere men) without *potestas* or *imperium* (emphasis mine)."[85] Some of the following points belong only to the category of prestige, and some

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[83] With the exception of Apollo, for whom the Romans did not have their own name; Jupiter, Juno, Minerva: 19.2; Janus: 13; Lares, Penates: 19.2; Mars: 21.1, 2; 29.2; Virtus, Honor: 11.1 etc.

[84] In colloquial English "clout" is a good translation for *auctoritas*.

[85] Grant (1969) p.443.

have been mentioned already in other contexts.

Augustus waged wars *all over the world* (3.1); he has been *princeps senatus* for forty years (7.2; since 30 B.C.); he brought back some of the customs of their ancestors which had fallen out of use, and set many examples himself worthy of imitation (8.2, 5); he has done things never done before:

> *...pars praetorum et tribunorum...obviam mihi missa est...qui honos ad hoc tempus nemini praeter me est decretus* (12.1).
>
> ...some of the praetors and tribunes were sent to meet me in Campania, an honour which had been decreed for no-one besides me up to that time.
>
> *...ter me principe senatus claudendum esse censuit* (13).
>
> ...three times while I was *princeps* the senate ordered [the gateway of Janus] to be closed (see p.45).
>
> *Classis mea per Oceanum ad ostio Rheni ad solis orientis regionem usque ad fines Cimbrorum navigavit, quo neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus ante id tempus adit* (26.4).
>
> My fleet sailed from the mouth of the Rhine eastward all the way to the borders of the Cimbri, where no Roman had ever been before either by land or sea.
>
> *Pannoniorum gentes, quas ante me principem populi Romani exercitus nunquam adit, devictas per Ti. Neronem privignus et legatus meus...*(30.1).
>
> The Pannonian peoples, whom a Roman army had never approached before I was *princeps*, were subdued by my stepson and legate Tiberius Nero...
>
> *Ad me ex India regum legationes saepe missae sunt non visae ante id tempus apud quemquam Romanorum ducem* (31.1).
>
> Legates from the kings of India, whom no Roman commander had ever seen before that time, were often sent to me.
>
> *Plurimae aliae gentes expertae sunt p[opuli] R[omani] fidem me principe quibus antea cum populo Romano nullum extiterat legationum et amicitiae commercium* (32.3).
>
> Many other nations sent delegations or experienced the friendship of the Roman people who had never done so before I was *princeps*.

The most significant accomplishment which had never been known before is saved for last:

Post id tempus auctoritate omnibus praestiti...(34.3)

After this time (26 B.C.) I excelled everyone in *auctoritas*...

Foreign delegations visiting Augustus have been mentioned above.[86] He was also called upon personally[87] to be an arbitrator of dynastic disputes (27.2), and a protector of kings who sought refuge (32.1). The king of Parthia sent all his sons and grandsons to Augustus as a good-will gesture (32.2). He brought peace to the Roman world and ended the civil war (25.1; 26.2, 3; 29.1; 34.1).

In the conclusion of the *RG* Augustus states that he received the gift of a *clupeus* (military shield) from the Roman senate and people. Ordinary shields were made of wood sheathed in bronze, but Augustus' was gold, and on it were inscribed four typically Roman ideals: *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, and *pietas*:

> *...clupeus aureus...quem mihi senatum populimque Romanum dare virtutis clementiaeque et iustitiae et pietatis caussa testatum est per eius clupei inscriptionem* (34.2).
>
> ...a golden shield, which the senate and Roman people awarded me because of [my] virtue, clemency, justice, and piety, as the inscription on this shield attests.[88]

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[86] More such instances of embassies are recorded in the so-called "diplomatic" section of the *RG*, 26.4-33.

[87] As opposed to those occasions when the Roman *state* was called upon to by other nations for help, for example after the Second Macedonian War (197 B.C.); see Cary and Scullard (1975) p.155f.

[88] No four English words are adequate to convey all the meanings of these four Latin words. See Ramage (1987) p.74 for discussion and n.169 for a bibliography of the shield and its virtues. Did Augustus wish to be identified with this shield (and the abstract qualities inscribed on it) as the Homeric heroes are identified by their shields and armour?

These four ideals are the cornerstones of *auctoritas*, and are the Roman abstractions for my characteristics 1 through 7. For example *virtus* can be equated with military accomplishments (3), *clementia* with the establishment of peace and prosperity (4), benevolence (5), and the source of his popularity (6), *iustitia* with his name (1), legitimacy (2), and the establishment justice (4), and *pietas* with piety (7). It is important to notice that Augustus had received this shield early in his career (26 B.C.) and yet he holds back this bit of personal information, using it, so to speak, as a summary of everything he feels he has already proved. The *clupeus* sentence is the basis on which Augustus proceeds to declare, first, his supreme *auctoritas*, and second, therefore, his right to the title *pater patriae*.

Commentators on the *RG* observe that many other Romans held such titles as *imperator*, *princeps*, and *pater patriae*, but the fact that Augustus has so many titles at the one time sets his *auctoritas* apart.[89] Augustus' use of the eight characteristics of autobiography shows that everything in his "Life" sets him apart both as a man and a ruler of men. In the concluding chapter the figure of "Augustus" that is created in *RG* is examined.

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[89] For example Brunt and Moore (1967) p.5.

Chapter III

"Augustus"

It appears that Augustus spent a great deal of time reflecting upon the meaning of his life, for in *Augustus* 85 Suetonius says that the ruler had begun, but never completed, another autobiography, a literary one, compiled in at least thirteen books. For reasons unknown Augustus abandoned this work, having brought the narrative up to the years 26-19 B.C. with the Cantabrian War. (From Suetonius' description it is impossible to know whether the incomplete *vita* was published, although the biographer was familiar with its contents). When Augustus took up the writing of the *RG*, at some point he determined to give this new project a special place of prominence. He ordered that a copy of the text be inscribed, after his death, on two bronze pillars placed in front his mausoleum (*Augustus* 101). This decision to memorialize himself on metal has consequences for an understanding of the "Augustus" that emerges.

As indicated in Chapter II, the written text was deposited in the records office, along with copies of Augustus' will and "state of the union" account. These three documents presuppose a smaller audience than that of the bronze *RG*: 1) the written *RG* addresses the family, the senate and the *literati* of Rome; 2) the will addresses the family and the nation; and 3) the "state of the union" addresses the successor and the government in general. As varied as these audiences are, they cannot compare with that implied by the bronze text. The metal inscription transforms Augustus' career into a public document, accessible to

everyone, Roman and foreigner alike.[90] Just as the expanse of the geographical territory acquired during his reign bears one kind of witness to the *auctoritas* of *divi Iúli filius*, so, too, do the two bronze pillars commemorate the *auctoritas* of the human being; they stand as a permanent monument, speaking not only to the present but to the future as well. Anyone able to visit the inscription, and to read Greek or Latin thus has an opportunity to learn exactly what Augustus believes is vital to know about his life.[91]

The physical size of the bronze pillars necessarily imposed a strict limitation of space upon the autobiographer: two bronze pillars would need to be enormous to convey as much information as the thirteen books of his *de Vita Sua*. Augustus had to consider carefully what facts he would draw out from a life as diverse as his own had been and how he would record them. Chronologically? By subject matter? In order of importance? The limitation of size might be an impetus to Augustus as author. Although speaking about the twentieth-century genre of autobiography, the literary critic James Olney points out the potential of "life writing"[92] to be as much a fictional as an historical record. This insight leads him to pose a question which has influenced the present study: to what extent does the autobiographer create an image of himself by imposing an artificial order on the events of his life? The purpose of this order is to ensure that he is seen not as he was, but as

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[90] Augustus apparently did not order that copies should be set up all over the empire. Suetonius only mentions that a copy was to be set in Rome.

[91] No one knows whether the copy at Rome also bore a Greek version.

[92] In his introductory essay in *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical*, Princeton, 1980, p.1f.

he wishes to be remembered by posterity. According to Georges Gusdorf, "One should not take the narrator's word for it, but should consider his version of the facts as *one contribution* to his own biography"[93] (emphasis mine). With the views of these two current theorists of the genre in mind, Augustus and "Augustus"[94] (within quotes) are used in this chapter to indicate a difference between, respectively, the Augustus who wrote the *RG* and the *persona* he fashioned through a selective and subtly arranged set of facts.

The initial sentence of the *RG* demonstrates just how creative an autobiographer Augustus was. He commences the narrative in the nineteenth year of his subject's life, thereby rejecting, in effect, the idea of the existence of a private or an immature "Augustus". The *RG* gives its audience, ancient or modern, none of the information readers might desire to know. There are no anecdotes about parents, birthplace, education, personal friends, or travel. Instead the only "Augustus" they encounter is a fully matured public figure, a man simplified by the loss of detail and at the same time, idealized.

Another sign of Augustus' creativity with the narrative comes in the fourth sentence. There is a reference to the appointment of "Augustus" to the consulship (43 B.C.). Anyone familiar with the republican constitution would recognize that no nineteen-year-old Roman started his career at the top of the *cursus honorum*. Such a feat on the

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[93] "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography", *Ibid* p.36; trans. by J. Olney.

[94] It is ironic that Augustus never names himself directly in the narrative. See Chapter II on characteristic 1 (identity).

part of "Augustus" could only have been accomplished illegally.[95] Thus the informed reader quickly learns that the autobiographer is prepared to omit any information that does not reflect favourably upon the ideal "self" he is trying to project.[96]

Although one might naturally expect this kind of manipulation of facts, nevertheless the restriction of space on the bronze pillars also means that Augustus must also disregard many positive features of his past. For example, he barely mentions the legislation "Augustus" was responsible for and which was aimed at improving conditions in the capital: 1) the provision for regulation of the water and grain supplies; 2) the organization of fire brigades; and 3) the establishment of an urban police force, to enumerate a few.[97] Nor does he immortalize on bronze the fact that it was "Augustus" who had the *clementia* and *iustitia* to abolish (28/7 B.C.) all the oppressive and unjust laws passed under the Second Triumvirate.[98] Significantly, the ideal "Augustus" shaped by the autobiographer is a man apparently more concerned with concrete, practical accomplishments (e.g. military victories, public doles, political diplomacy, public honours) than with

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[95] The *Lex Villia Annalis* of 180 B.C. set the minimum age for a consul at 42. There were occasional exceptions even in the republican period, e.g. Scipio Aemilius Africanus (185?-129 B.C.), made consul in 147 by special dispensation (Cary and Scullard [1975] p.149; Appian, *Libyca* 112).

[96] As Ramage (1987) p.34 says: "...right here at the beginning [the first two chapters of the *RG*] he [Augustus] does not hesitate to omit information and select what he wants to talk about; he feels free to adapt the truth and put his own interpretation on events, while presenting what are the basic facts." For example, there is no mention of the proscriptions, confiscations of property, military failures etc. Further on this see Brunt and Moore (1967) p.4f; and Ramage (1987) p.32f.

[97] See Cary and Scullard (1975) p.322f.

[98] Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 53.2.

less tangible deeds (e.g. revival of Roman religion and morality[99]).

In addition, it soon becomes clear that "Augustus" is an idea that grows according to subject headings placed into time sequences that shift backwards and forwards. The first four sections of the *RG*, for example, contain an abbreviated account of "Augustus'" political and military career. The dating of events in *RG* 1.1 begins in 44 B.C.; moves in linear fashion to the consulship of Pansa and Hirtius (1.2) in 43 B.C., and next to the defeat of the republicans (2) in 42 B.C.; then suddenly the narrative becomes a series of events scattered in date (3.1-4.3), finally ending in A.D. 14 (4.4). In 5.1 the date jumps back to 22 B.C., the consulship of Marcellus and Arruntius. Another forward progression begins, ending in A.D. 13 (6.2) with the fifth time "Augustus" asked for a colleague in *tribunicia potestas*. In 7.1 the reader again is taken back, this time to 43 B.C. when "Augustus" was appointed triumvir. Then a third forward progression begins, ending (8.4) in A.D. 14. The most compressed time sequence occurs in 15.1-2. In half a paragraph the years rush from 44 B.C. to 5 B.C.,[100] a pattern which continues for the rest of the *RG*, with few exceptions. The effect of the autobiographer handling chronology in this way is to create in the readers a sense of the timelessness of the ideal "Augustus": he remains the only constant in a narrative that presents the magnitude of his accomplishments as unchanging whether he is viewed at age nineteen or seventy-six.

Any readers of the *RG*, especially if they were standing before the

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[99] Which he does just touch upon in 8.2-5.
[100] *Ibid.* p.25.

bronze inscription at the tomb, would inevitably wonder what Augustus' purpose was in creating a *vita* which is also an epitaph. Ramage believes that the autobiographer wanted to bequeath to Tiberius an explanation of how to manage the government he would inherit.[101] This might be part of his purpose, but the present thesis argues that Augustus had at least one other objective as well: like others before him in the genres of literary and epigraphical (auto)biography, Augustus wanted to be remembered as the man who had founded and preserved a stable form of government. Indeed Suetonius (*Augustus* 28), quoting from an edict published by Augustus, records:

> *Ita mihi salvam ac sospitem rem p(ublicam) sistere in sua sede liceat atque eius rei fructum percipere, quem peto, ut optimi status auctor dicar et moriens ut feram mecum spem mansura in vestigo suo fundamenta rei p(ublicae) quae iecero.*
>
> May I be privileged to build firm and lasting foundations for the Government of the State. May I also achieve the reward to which I aspire: that of being known as the author of the best possible Constitution, and of carrying with me, when I die, the hope that these foundations which I have established for the State will abide secure.[102]

The words of the edict reveal Augustus as a man hoping to control his future reputation. The words of the *RG* comprise another attempt to define these terms, specifically by fashioning a picture of the leader who had both the vision and the self-discipline to shape the future. Augustus recognized the power of his own life to endure as an *exemplum* worthy of emulation by rulers far beyond Tiberius, both geographically and temporally. And Augustus achieves this effect, as argued in the

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[101] Ramage (1987) p.115f. Ramage does not satisfactorily explain his proposal, for which he was sharply criticized; see J. Carter's review in *Classical Review* 38 (1988) pp.436-7.

[102] Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, trans. by R. Graves, Penguin Books, New York, 1979.

discussion of the eight criteria, first, by elaborating the quantity and the magnitude of his accomplishments, and second, by exalting his *auctoritas* as "superior to everyone" (34.2: *auctoritate omnibus praestiti*). Inasmuch as Augustus has placed himself and his work in a worldwide tradition of (auto)biography, a reader of such a boast wonders if the author implies his superiority to a Darius or to an Antiochus, too. Since Augustus did not expect his successors to be able to claim a list of ancestors or divine authority (any more than he could himself), the only possible criterion for recognizing anyone as sole ruler (or *princeps*) of Rome, and one which did not breach Roman tradition or propriety, is *auctoritas*:

> "[Augustus] solved in an unobtrusive manner the administrative problems of the ruler, by permitting the use of his unique *auctoritas* (informal still) within the republican constitution."[103]

Line after line, criterion by criterion, the *RG* makes readers aware that "Augustus" *is* Rome, its "father" and *auctor*. The autobiographer conveys the supreme power of his fictional "self", while never once employing the words "king", "emperor", or "tyrant".

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[103] Grant (1969) p.453. Ramage (1987) p.118f agrees with this position. I believe it was for this reason that Augustus introduced Tiberius (*RG* 12.2), Gaius, and Lucius (14.1) to public life long before his own death: they needed time to perform *res gestae*, and acquire *auctoritas*. I believe it is also significant that, apart from consuls named for dating purposes, and foreign rulers, Tiberius, Gaius, and Lucius are the only individuals mentioned by name in the *RG*. Further, Suetonius says (*Augustus* 101) that Tiberius was to have the title "Augustus" according to Augustus' will. To say that Augustus merely wished to keep the reigns of power within the family may be to oversimplify the situation. With an abstract quality (*auctoritas*) as the criterion for the position it is no wonder that the problem of succession plagued the empire in the years following Augustus. This problem became worse once the army realized that it could create emperors, with little concern for their candidate's qualifications.

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Appendix I: A Summary of the *Res Gestae*.

1: Age 19, saved the state; became senator and consul.
2: Avenged murder of J. Caesar.
3: Military successes; pardon of conquered; 500,000 take oath; veterans' settlements; captured 600 ships.
4: 2 ovations, 3 triumphs, 21 times *imperator*; honours refused; 55 thanksgivings totalling 890 days; 9 kings or their children in triumphs; 13th consulship, 37th tribunate.
5: Refused dictatorship; took charge of corn supply at own expense; refused perpetual consulship.
6: Declined to be supervisor of laws and morals (3 times; not traditional office); 5 times asked for colleague in tribunate.
7: *Triumvir* for 10 years; *princeps senatus* for 40 years; *pontifex maximus, augur, quindecemvir sacris faciundis, septemvir epulonum, frater arvalis, sodalis Titius, fetialis*.
8: Increased number of patricians; revised roll of senate (3 times); held censuses; revived *lustrum* ceremony; revived many other practices and set examples himself.
9: Many prayers for his health.
10: Name in hymn of *Salii*; person inviolable; tribune for life; refused to be *pontifex maximus* until present one died.
11: Sacrifices in honour of return from east; altar of *Fortuna Redux*; festival of *Augustalia*.
12: Praetors, tribunes, and consul sent to meet him; *ara pacis Augustae* decreed.
13: Temple of Janus closed three times.
14: Gaius and Lucius consuls designate and *principes iuventutis*.
15: Hand-outs to urban plebs: 300 sesterces each (44 B.C.), 400 sest. (29 B.C.), 400 sest. (24 B.C.), 12 rations of grain (23 B.C.), 400 sest. (11 B.C.), 240 sest. (5 B.C.); to soldiers: 1000 sest. (29 B.C.); 60 denarii to urban plebs (2 B.C.).
16: Paid for veterans' lands, totalling about 860,000,000 sest.; cash awards to veterans totalling about 400,000,000 sest.
17: Gave state treasury a total of 150,000,000 sest.; founded military treasury, gave it 170,000,000 sest.
18: Other gifts of cash and grain, not specified.
19: Built, restored, or completed: Senate, Chalcidicum, temples of Apollo, Jupiter, Minerva Lares, Quirinus, Juno, *Di Penates*, Great Mother, Youth;
20: theatre of Pompey, aqueducts, Julian forum, Julian basilica, Via Flaminia, all bridges except Milvian and Minucian; 82 temples restored in 6th consulship;
21: temple of Mars, Augustan forum, theatre of Marcellus; gifts to divine Julius, Apollo, Vesta, Mars totalling 100,000,000 sest.; returned 35,000 pounds of gold to *municipia* and colonies.
22: Games and shows for the people.
23: Naval battle on artificial lake.
24: Replaced ornaments in temples of Asia Minor; removed 80 silver statues of himself, made offerings to Apollo with the cash.

25: Cleared sea of pirates; captured 30,000 runaway slaves; Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, Sardinia swore allegiance and demanded Augustus as commander at Actium; 700 senators served under him.

26: Extended territory of empire; pacified Gaul, Spain, Germany, Alps; fleet, army and ambassadors sent to where no Roman had been before.

27: Egypt added to empire; mediator in other countries' disputes; recovered lost provinces beyond Adriatic, and Cyrene, Sicily, Sardinia.

28: Founded colonies in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, Spain, Achaea, Asia, Syria, Gallia Narbonensis, Pisidia, and 28 in Italy.

29: Recovered Spain and Gaul; Parthians restored spoils and standards, asked for friendship.

30: Pannonia conquered; extended frontier to the Danube; Dacians defeated.

31: Embassies from India, the Bastarnae, Scythians, Sarmatia, Albania, Iberia, Medes.

32: Kings who sought refuge: Tiridates, Phraates, Artavasdes, Artaxares, Dumnobellaunus, Tincommius, Maelo, ...rus; Phraates sent children to Rome as gesture of good-will.

33: Parthians and Medes ask for arbitration.

34: Having acquired complete control, returned it to the senate and people; title "Augustus"; house wreathed, crown over door; the golden shield on account of *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia* and *pietas*; surpassed all in *auctoritas*;

35: Title "father of his country" (*pater patriae*); age 76 at the time of writing.

Appendix II: The *Res Gestae* - Latin

Rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit, et impensarum quas in rem publicam populumque Romanum fecit, incisarum in duabis ahenis pilis, quae sunt Romae positae, exemplar subiectum.

1 Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi. 2 Eo nomine senatus decretis honorificis in ordinem suum me adlegit, C. Pansa et A. Hirtio consulibus, consularem locum sententiae dicendae tribuens, et imperium mihi dedit. 3 Res publica ne quid detrimenti caperet, me propraetore simul cum consulibus providere iussit. 4 Populus autem eodem anno me consulem, cum cos. uterque in bello cecidisset, et triumvirum rei publicae constituendae creavit.

2 Qui parentem meum trudicaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie.

3 Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi, victorque omnibus veniam petentibus civibus peperci. 2 Externas gentes, quibus tuto ignosci potuit, conservare quam excidere malui. 3 Millia civium Romanorum sub sacramento meo fuerunt circiter quingenta. Ex quibus deduxi in colonias aut remisi in municipia sua stipendis emeritis millia aliquanto plura quam trecenta, et iis omnibus agros adsignavi aut pecuniam pro praemiis militiae dedi. 4 Naves cepi sescentas praeter eas, si quae minores quam triremes fuerunt.

4 Bis ovans triumphavi et tris egi curulis triumphos et appellatus sum viciens et semel imperator, decernente pluris triumphos mihi senatu, quibus omnibus supersedi. Laurum de fascibus deposui in Capitolio, votis quae quoque bello nuncupaveram solutis. 2 Ob res a me aut per legatos meos auspicis meis terra marique prospere gestas quinquagiens et quinquiens decrevit senatus supplicandum esse dis immortalibus. Dies autem, per quos ex senatus consulto supplicatum est, fuere DCCCLXXXX. 3 In triumphis meis ducti sunt ante currum meum reges aut regum liberi novem. 4 Consul fueram terdeciens, cum scribebam haec, et eram septimum et tricensimum tribuniciae potestatis.

5 Dictaturam et apsenti et praesenti mihi delatum et a populo et a senatu, M. Marcello et L. Arruntio consulibus non recepi. 2 Non sum deprecatus in summa frumenti penuria curationem annonae, quam ita administravi ut intra dies paucos metu et periculo praesenti civitatem universam liberarem impensa et cura mea. 3 Consulatum quoque tum annuum et perpetuum mihi delatum non recepi.

6 Consulibus M. Vinicio et Q. Lucretio et postea P. Lentulo et Cn. Lentulo et tertium Paullo Fabio Maximo et Q. Tuberone senatu populoque Romano consentientibus ut curator legum et morum summa potestate solus crearer, nullum magistratum contra morem maiorum delatum recepi. 2 Quae tum per me geri senatus voluit, per tribuniciam potestatem perfeci, cuius potestatis conlegam et ipse ultro quinquiens a senatu depoposci et accepi.

7 Triumvirum rei publicae constituendae fui per continuos annos decem. 2 Princeps senatus fui usque ad eum diem quo scripseram haec per annos quadraginta. 3 Pontifex maximus, augur, XV virum sacris faciundis, VII virum epulonum, frater arvalis, sodalis Titius fetialis fui.
8 Patriciorum numerum auxi consul quintum iussu populi et senatus. 2 Senatum ter legi, et in consulato sexto censum populi conlega M. Agrippa egi. Lustrum post annum alterum et quadragensimum feci, quo lustro civium Romanorum censa sunt capita quadragiens centum millia et sextaginta tria millia. 3 Tum iterum consulare cum imperio lustrum solus feci C. Censorino et C. Asinio cos., quo lustro censa sunt civium Romanorum capita quadragiens centum millia et ducenta triginta tria millia. 4 Et tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Caesare filio meo feci Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio cos., quo lustro censa sunt civium Romanorum capitum quadragiens centum millia et nongenta triginta et septem millia. 5 Legibus novis me auctore latis multa exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro saeculo reduxi et ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi.
9 Vota pro valetudine mea suscipi per consules et sacerdotes quinto quoque anno senatus decrevit. Ex iis votis saepe fecerunt vivo me ludos aliquotiens sacerdotum quattuor amplissima collegia, aliquotiens consules. 2 Privatim etiam et municipatim universi cives unanimiter continenter apud omnia pulvinaria pro valetudine mea supplicaverunt.
10 Nomen meum senatus consulto inclusum est in saliare carmen, et sacrosanctus in perpetuum ut essem et, quoad viverem, tribunicia potestas mihi esset, per legem sanctum est. 2 Pontifex maximus ne fierem in vivi conlegae mei locum, populo id sacerdotium deferente mihi quod pater meus habuerat, recusavi. Quod sacerdotium aliquod post annos, eo mortuo qui civilis motus occasione occupaverat, cuncta ex Italia ad comitia mea confluente multitudine, quanta Romae nunquam fertur ante id tempus fuisse, recipi, P. Sulpicio C. Valgio consulibus.
11 Aram Fortunae Reducis ante aedes Honoris et Virtutis ad portam Capenam pro reditu meo senatus consecravit, in qua pontifices virgines Vestales anniversarium sacrificium facere iussit eo die quo, consulibus Q. Lucretio et M. Vinicio, in urbem ex Syria redieram, et diem Augustalia ex cognomine nostro appellavit.
12 Ex senatus auctoritate pars praetorum et tribunorum plebi cum consule Q. Lucretio et principibus viris obviam mihi missa est in Campaniam, qui honos ad hoc tempus nemini praeter me est decretus. 2 Cum ex Hispania Galliaque, rebus in iis provincis prospere gestis, Romam redi, Ti. Nerone P. Quintilio consulibus, aram Pacis Augustae senatus pro reditu meo consecrandam censuit ad campum Martium, in qua magistratus et sacerdotes virginesque Vestales anniversarium sacrificium facere iussit.
13 Ianum Quirinum, quem clausum esse maiores nostri voluerunt cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax, cum, priusquam nascerer, a condita urbe bis omnino clausum fuisse prodatur memoriae, ter me principe senatus claudendum esse censuit.
14 Filios meos, quos iuvenes mihi eripuit fortuna, Gaium et Lucium Caesares honoris mei caussa senatus populusque Romanus annum quintum et decimum agentis consules designavit, ut eum magistratum inirent post quinquennium et ex eo die quo deducti sunt in forum ut interessent consiliis publicis decrevit senatus. 2 Equites autem Romani universi

principem iuventutis utrumque eorum parmis et hastis argenteis donatum appellaverunt.
15 Plebei Romanae viritim HS trecenos numeravi ex testamento patris mei et nomine meo HS quadringenos ex bellorum manibiis consul quintum dedi, iterum autem in consulato decimo ex patrimonio meo HS quadringenos congiari viritim pernumeravi, et consul undecimum duodecim frumentationes frumento privatim coempto emensus sum, et tribunicia potestate duodecimum quadringenos nummos tertium viritim dedi. Quae mea congiaria pervenerunt ad hominum millia nunquam minus quinquaginta et ducenta. 2 Tribuniciae potestatis duodevicensum, consul XII, trecentis et viginti millibus plebis urbanae sexagenos denarios viritim dedi. 3 Et colonis militum meorum consul quintum ex manibiis viritim millia nummum singula dedi; acceperunt id triumphale congiarium in colonis hominum circiter centum et viginti millia. 4 Consul tertium decimum sexagenos denarios plebei quae tum frumentum publicum accipiebat dedi; ea millia hominum paullo plura quam ducenta fuerunt.
16 Pecuniam pro agris quos in consulatu meo quarto et postea consulibus M. Crasso et Cn. Lentulo Augure adsignavi militibus solvi municipis; ea summa sestertium circiter sexsiens milliens fuit quam pro Italicis praedis numeravi, et circiter bis milliens et sescentiens quod pro agris provincialibus solvi. Id primus et solus omnium qui deduxerunt colonias militum in Italia aut in provincis ad memoriam aetatis meae feci. 2 Et postea, Ti. Nerone et Cn. Pisone consulibus itemque C. Antistio et D. Laelio cos. et C. Calvisio et L. Pasieno consulibus et L. Lentulo et M. Messalla et L. Caninio et Q. Fabricio cos., militibus quos emeriteis stipendis in sua municipia deduxi praemia numerato persolvi, quam in rem sestertium quater milliens circiter impendi.
17 Quater pecunia mea iuvi aerarium, ita ut sestertium milliens et quingentiens ad eos qui praerant aerario detulerim. 2 Et M. Lepido L. Arruntio cos. in aerarium militare, quod ex consilio meo constitutum est ex quo praemia darentur militibus qui vicena aut plura stipendia emeruissent, HS milliens et septingentiens ex patrimonio meo detuli.
18 Ab eo anno quo Cn. et P. Lentuli consules fuerunt, cum deficerent vectigalia, tum centum millibus hominum tum pluribus multo frumentarios et nummarios tributus ex horreo et patrimonio meo ededi.
19 Curiam et continens ei Chalcidicum templumque Apollonis in Palatio cum porticibus, aedem divi Iuli, Lupercal, porticum ad circum Flaminium quam sum appellari passus ex nomine eius qui priorem eodem in solo fecerat, Octaviam, pulvinar ad circum maximum, 2 aedes in Capitolio Iovis Feretri et Iovis Tonantis, aedem Quirini, aedes Minervae et Iunonis Reginae et Iovis Libertatis in Aventino, aedem Larum in summa sacra via, aedem deum Penatium in Velia, aedem Iuventatis, aedem Matris Magnae in Palatio feci.
20 Capitolium et Pompeium theatrum utrumque opus impensa grandi refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei. 2 Rivos aquarum compluribus locis vetustate labentes refeci, et aquam quae Marcia appellatur duplicavi fonte novo in rivum eius inmisso. 3 Forum Iulium et basilicam quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni, coepta profligataque opera a patre meo, perfeci et eandem basilicam consumptam incendio, ampliato eius solo, sub titulo nominis filiorum meorum incohavi, et, si vivus non perfecissem, perfici ab heredibus meis iussi. 4 Duo et octoginta templa

deum in urbe consul sextum ex auctoritate senatus refeci nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat. 5 Consul septimum viam Flaminiam ab urbe Ariminum refeci pontesque omnes praeter Mulvium et Minucium.

21 In privato solo Martis Ultoris templum forumque Augustum ex manibiis feci. Theatrum ad aedem Apollinis in solo magna ex parte a privatis empto feci, quod sub nomine M. Marcelli generi mei esset. 2 Dona ex manibiis in Capitolio et in aede divi Iuli et in aede Apollinis et in aede Vestae et in templo Martis Ultoris consacravi, quae mihi constiterunt HS circiter milliens. 3 Auri coronari pondo triginta et quinque millia municipiis et colonis Italiae conferentibus ad triumphos meos quintum consul remisi, et postea, quotienscumque imperator appellatus sum, aurum coronarium non accepi decernentibus municipiis et colonis aeque benigne adque antea decreverant.

22 Ter munus gladiatorium dedi meo nomine et quinquiens filiorum meorum aut nepotum nomine, quibus muneribus depugnaverunt hominum circiter decem millia. Bis athletarum undique accitorum spectaculum populo praebui meo nomine et tertium nepotis mei nomine. 2 Ludos feci meo nomine quater, aliorum autem magistratuum vicem ter et viciens. Pro conlegio XV virorum magister conlegii collega M. Agrippa ludos saeclares C. Furnio C. Silano cos. feci. Consul XIII ludos Martiales primus feci, quos post id tempus deinceps insequentibus annis s(enatus) c(onsulto) et lege fecerunt consules. 3 Venationes bestiarum Africanarum meo nomine aut filiorum meorum et nepotum in circo aut in foro aut in amphitheatris populo dedi sexiens et viciens, quibus confecta sunt bestiarum circiter tria millia quingentae.

23 Navalis proeli spectaculum populo dedi trans Tiberim in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum, cavato solo in longitudinem mille et ducenti, in quo triginta rostratae naves triremes aut biremes, plures autem minores inter se conflixerunt; quibus in classibus pugnaverunt praeter remiges millia hominum tria circiter.

24 In templis omnium civitatium provinciae Asiae victor ornamenta reposui quae spoliatis templis is cum quo bellum gesseram privatim possederat. 2 Statuae meae pedestres et equestres et in quadrigeis argenteae steterunt in urbe XXC circiter, quas ipse sustuli, exque ea pecunia dona aurea in aede Apollinis meo nomine et illorum qui mihi statuarum honorem habuerunt posui.

25 Mare pacavi a praedonibus. Eo bello servorum qui fugerant a dominis suis et arma contra rem publicam ceperant triginta fere millia capta dominis ad supplicium sumendum tradidi. 2 Iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua, et me belli quo vici ad Actium ducem depoposcit; iuraverunt in eadem verba provinciae Galliae, Hipsaniae, Africa, Sicilia, Sardinia. 3 Qui sub signis meis tum militaverunt fuerunt senatores plures quam DCC, in iis qui vel antea vel postea consules facti sunt ad eum diem quo scripta sunt haec LXXXIII, sacerdotes circiter CLXX.

26 Omnium provinciarum populi Romani quibus finitimae fuerunt gentes quae non parerent imperio nostro fines auxi. 2 Gallias et Hispanias provincias, item Germaniam, qua includit Oceanus a Gadibus ad ostium Albis fluminis pacavi. 3 Alpes a regione ea quae proxima est Hadriano mari ad Tuscum pacificavi nulli genti bello per iniuriam inlato. 4

Classis mea per Oceanum ab ostio Rheni ad solis orientis regionem usque ad fines Cimbrorum navigavit, quo neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus ante id tempus adit, Cimbrique et Charydes et Semnones et eiusdem tractus alii Germanorum populi per legatos amicitiam meam et populi Romani petierunt. 5 Meo iussu et auspicio ducti sunt duo exercitus eodem fere tempore in Aethiopiam et in Arabiam quae appellatur Eudaemon, magnaeque hostium gentis utriusque copiae caesae sunt in acie et complura oppida capta. In Aethiopiam usque ad oppidum Nabata perventum est, cui proxima est Meroe; in Arabiam usque in fines Sabaeorum processit exercitus ad oppidum Mariba.

27 Aegyptum imperio populi Romani adieci. 2 Armeniam maiorem interfecto rege eius Artaxe cum possem facere provinciam malui maiorum nostrorum exemplo regnum id Tigrani regis Artavasdis filio, nepoti autem Tigranis regis, per Ti. Neronem tradere, qui tum mihi privignus erat. Et eandem gentem postea disciscentem et rebellantem domitam per Gaium filium meum regi Ariobarzani regis Medorum Artabazi filio regendum tradidi, et post eius mortem filio eius Artavasdi; quo interfecto Tigranem qui erat ex regio genere Armeniorum oriundis in id regnum misi. 3 Provincias omnis quae trans Hadrianum mare vergunt ad orientem Cyrenasque, iam ex parte magna regibus ea possidentibus, et antea Siciliam et Sardiniam occupatas bello servili reciperavi.

28 Colonias in Africa, Sicilia, Macedonia, utraque Hispania, Achaia, Asia, Syria, Gallia Narbonensi, Pisidia militum deduxi. 2 Italia autem XXVIII colonias quae vivo me celeberrimae et frequentissimae fuerunt mea auctoritate deductas habet.

29 Signa militaria complura per alios duces amissa devictis hostibus recepi ex Hispania et Gallia et Dalmateis. 2 Parthos trium exercitum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi. Ea autem signa in penetrali quod est in templo Martis Ultoris reposui.

30 Pannoniorum gentes, quas ante me principem populi Romani exercitus nunquam adit, devictas per Ti. Neronem, qui tum erat privignus et legatus meus, imperio populi Romani subieci, protulique fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Danui. 2 Citra quod Dacorum transgressus exercitus meis auspiciis victus profligatusque est, et postea trans Danuvium ductus exercitus meus Dacorum gentes imperia populi Romani perferre coegit.

31 Ad me ex India regum legationes saepe missae sunt non visae ante id tempus apud quemquam Romanorum ducem. 2 Nostram amicitiam appetiverunt per legatos Bastarnae Scythaeque et Sarmatarum qui sunt citra flumen Tanaim et ultra reges, Albanorumque rex Hiberorum et Medorum.

32 Ad me supplices confugerunt reges Parthorum Tiridates et postea Phrates regis Phratis filius, Medorum Artavasdes, Adiabenorum Artaxares, Britannorum Dumnobellaunus et Tincommius, Sugambrorum Maelo, Marcomanorum Sueborum.....rus. 2 Ad me rex Parthorum Phrates Orodis filius filios suos nepotesque omnes misit in Italiam non bello superatus, sed amicitiam nostram per liberorum suorum pignora petens. 3 Plurimaeque aliae gentes expertae sunt p(opuli) R(omani) fidem me principe quibus antea cum populo Romano nullum extiterat legationum et amicitiae commercium.

33 A me gentes Parthorum et Medorum per legatos principes earum gentium reges petitos acceperunt: Parthi Vononem, regis Phratis filium, regis Orodis nepotem, Medi Ariobarzanem, regis Artavazdis filium, regis Ariobarzanis nepotem.
34 In consulatu sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli. 2 Quo pro merito meo senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum et laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti publice coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est et clupeus aureus in curia Iulia positus, quem mihi senatum populumque Romanum dare virtutis clementiaeque et iustitiae et pietatis caussa testatum est per eius clupei inscriptionem. 3 Post id tempus auctoritate omnibus praestiti, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam ceteri qui mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae fuerunt.
35 Tertium decimum consulatum cum gerebam, senatus et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus appellavit me patrem patriae, idque in vestibulo aedium mearum inscribendum et in curia Iulia et in foro Aug. sub quadrigis quae mihi ex s.c. positae sunt censuit. 2 Cum scripsi haec annum agebam septuagensumum sextum.

Appendix III: The *Res Gestae*
English translation by Brunt and Moore (1967).

A copy is set out below of the achievements of the divine Augustus, by which he brought the world under the empire of the Roman people, and of the expenses which he bore for the state and people of Rome; the original is engraved on two bronze pillars set up at Rome.

1 At the age of nineteen on my own responsibility and at my own expense I raised an army, with which I successfully championed the liberty of the republic when it was oppressed by the tyranny of a faction. 2 On that account the senate passed decrees in my honour enrolling me in its order in the consulship of Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, assigning me the right to give my opinion among the consulars and giving me *imperium*. 3 It ordered me as propraetor to provide in concert with the consuls that the republic should come to no harm. 4 In the same year, when both consuls had fallen in battle, the people appointed me consul and triumvir for the organization of the republic.

2 I drove into exile the murderers of my father, avenging their crime through tribunals established by law; and afterwards, when they made war on the republic, I twice defeated them in battle.

3 I undertook many civil and foreign wars by land and sea throughout the world, and as victor I spared the lives of all citizens who asked for mercy. 2 When foreign peoples could safely be pardoned I preferred to preserve rather than to exterminate them. 3 The Roman citizens who took the soldier's oath of obedience to me numbered about 500,000. I settled rather more than 300,000 of these in colonies or sent them back to their home towns after their period of service; to all these I assigned lands or gave money as rewards for their military service. 4 I captured six hundred ships, not counting ships smaller than triremes.

4 I celebrated two ovations and three curule triumphs and I was twenty-one times saluted as *imperator*. The senate decreed still more triumphs to me; all of which I declined. I laid the bay leaves with which my *fasces* were wreathed in the Capitol after fulfilling all the vows which I had made in each war. 2 On fifty-five occasions the senate de creed that thanksgivings should be offered to the immortal gods on account of the successes on land and sea gained by me or by my legates acting under my auspices. The days on which thanksgivings were offered in accordance with decrees of the senate numbered eight hundred and ninety. 3 In my triumphs nine kings or children of kings were led before my chariot. 4 At the time of writing I have been consul thirteen times and am in the thirty-seventh year of tribunician power.

5 The dictatorship was offered to me by both senate and people in my absence and when I was at Rome in the consulship of Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius, but I refused it. 2 I did not decline in the great dearth of corn to undertake the charge of the corn-supply, which I so administered that within a few days I delivered the whole city from apprehension and immediate danger at my own cost and by my own efforts. 3 At that time the consulship was also offered to me, to be held each year for the rest of my life, and I refused it.

6 In the consulship of Marcus Vinicius and Quintus Lucretius, and afterwards in that of Publius and Gnaeus Lentulus, and thirdly in that of Paullus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Tubero, the senate and people of Rome agreed that I should be appointed supervisor of laws and morals without a colleague and with supreme power, but I would not accept any office inconsistent with the custom of our ancestors. 2 The measures that the senate then desired me to take I carried out in virtue of my tribunician power. On five occasions, of my own initiative, I asked for and received from the senate a colleague in that power.

7 I was triumvir for the organization of the republic for ten consecutive years. 2 Up to the day of writing I have been *princeps senatus* for forty years. 3 I am *pontifex maximus, augur, quindecimvir sacris faciundis, septemvir epulonum, frater arvalis, sodalis Titius, fetialis.*

8 In my fifth consulship I increase the number of patricians on the instructions of the people and senate. 2 I revised the roll of the senate three times. In my sixth consulship with Marcus Agrippa as colleague, I carried out a census of the people, and I performed a *lustrum* after a lapse of forty-two years; at that *lustrum* 4,063,000 Roman citizens were registered. 3 Then a second time I performed a *lustrum* with consular *imperium* and without a colleague, in the consulship of Gaius Censorinus and Gaius Asinius; at that *lustrum* 4,233,000 citizens were registered. 4 Thirdly I performed a *lustrum* with consular *imperium*, with Tiberius Caesar, my son, as colleague, in the consulship of Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius; at that *lustrum* 4,937,000 citizens were registered. 5 By new laws passed on my proposal I brought back into use many exemplary practices of our ancestors which were disappearing in our time, and in many ways I myself transmitted exemplary practices to posterity for their imitation.

9 The senate decreed that vows should be undertaken every fifth year by the consuls and priests for my health. In fulfillment of these vows games have frequently been celebrated in my lifetime, sometimes by the four most distinguished colleges of priests, sometimes by the consuls. 2 Moreover, all the citizens, individually and on behalf of their towns, have unanimously and continuously offered prayers at all the *pulvinaria* for my health.

10 My name was inserted in the hymn of the Salii by a decree of the senate, and it was enacted by law that my person should be inviolable for ever and that I should hold the tribunician power for the duration of my life. 2 I declined to be made *pontifex maximus* in the place of my colleague who was still alive, when the people offered me this priesthood which my father had held. Some years later, after the death of the man who had taken the opportunity of civil disturbance to seize it for himself, I received this priesthood, in the consulship of Publius Sulpicius and Gaius Valgius, and such a concourse poured in from the whole of Italy to my election as has never been recorded at Rome before that time.

11 The senate consecrated the altar of Fortuna Redux before the temples of Honour and Virtue at the Porta Capena in honour of my return, and it ordered that the *pontifices* and Vestal virgins should make an annual sacrifice there on the anniversary of my return to the city from Syria

in the consulship of Quintus Lucretius and Marcus Vinicius, and it named the day the Augustalia from my *cognomen*.
12 In accordance with the will of the senate some of the praetors and tribunes of the plebs with the consul Quintus Lucretius and the leading men were sent to Campania to meet me, an honour that up to the present day has been decreed to no-one besides myself. 2 On my return from Spain and Gaul in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius after successfully arranging affairs in those provinces, the senate resolved that an altar of the Augustan Peace should be consecrated next to the Campus Martius in honour of my return, and ordered that the magistrates and priests and Vestal virgins should make an annual sacrifice there.
13 It was the will of our ancestors that the gateway of Janus Quirinus should be shut when victories had secured peace by land and sea throughout the whole empire of the Roman people; from the foundation of the city down to my birth, tradition records that it was shut only twice, but while I was the leading citizen the senate resolved that it should be shut on three occasions.
14 My sons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, of whom Fortune bereaved me in their youth, were for my honour designated as consuls by the senate and people of Rome when they were fourteen, with the provision that they should enter on that magistracy after a lapse of five years. And the senate decreed that from the day when they were led into the forum they should take part in the councils of state. 2 Furthermore each of them was presented with silver shields and spears by the whole body of *equites* and hailed as *princeps iuventutis*.
15 To each member of the Roman plebs I paid under my father's will 300 sesterces, and in my own name I gave them 400 each from the booty of war in my fifth consulship, and once again in my tenth consulship I paid out 400 sesterces as a largesse to each man from my own patrimony, and in my eleventh consulship I bought grain with my own money and distributed twelve rations apiece, and in the twelfth year of my tribunician power I gave every man 400 sesterces for the third time. These largesses of mine never reached fewer than 250,000 persons. 2 In the eighteenth year of my tribunician power and my twelfth consulship I gave 240 sesterces apiece to 320,000 members of the urban plebs. 3 In my fifth consulship I gave 1,000 sesterces out of booty to every one of the colonists drawn from my soldiers; about 120,000 men in the colonies received this largesse at the time of my triumph. 4 In my thirteenth consulship I gave 60 *denarii* apiece to the plebs who were then in receipt of public grain; they comprised a few more than 200,000 persons.
16 I paid cash to the towns for the lands that I assigned to soldiers in my fourth consulship, and later in the consulship of Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Lentulus. The sum amounted to about 600,000,000 sesterces paid for lands in Italy, and about 260,000,000 disbursed for provincial lands. Of all those who founded military colonies in Italy or the provinces I was the first and only one to have done this in the recollection of my contemporaries. 2 Later, in the consulships of Tiberius Nero and Gnaeus Piso, of Gaius Antistius and Decimus Laelius, of Gaius Calvisius and Lucius Pasienus. of Lucius Lentulus and Marcus Messala and of Lucius Caninius and Quintus Fabricius I paid monetary rewards to soldiers whom I settled in their home towns after completion

of their service, and on this account I expended about 400,000,000 sesterces.
17 Four times I assisted the treasury with my own money, so that I transferred to the administrators of the treasury 150,000,000 sesterces. 2 In the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, when the military treasury was founded by my advice for the purpose of paying rewards to soldiers who had served for twenty years or more, I transferred to it from my own patrimony 170,000,000 sesterces.
18 From the consulship of Gnaeus and Publius Lentulus onwards, whenever the taxes did not suffice, I made distributions of grain and money from my own granary and patrimony, sometimes to 100,000 persons, sometimes to many more.
19 I built the Senate House, and the Chalcidicum adjacent to it, the temple of Apollo on the Palatine with its porticoes, the temple of the divine Julius, the Lupercal, the portico at the Flaminian circus, which I permitted to bear the name of the portico of Octavius, after the man who erected the previous portico on the same site, a *pulvinar* at the Circus Maximus, (2) the temples on the Capitol of Jupiter Feretrius and Jupiter the Thunderer, the temple of Quirinus, the temples of Minerva and Queen Juno and Jupiter Libertas on the Aventine, the temple of the Lares at the top of the Sacred Way, the temple of the *Di Penates* in the Velia, the temple of Youth, and the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine.
20 I restored the Capitol and the Theatre of Pompey, both works at great expense without inscribing my own name on either. 2 I restored the channels of the aqueducts, which in several places were falling into disrepair through age, and I brought water from a new spring into the aqueduct called Marcia, doubling the supply. 3 I completed the Forum Julium and the basilica between the temples of Castor and Saturn, works begun and almost finished by my father, and when that same basilica was destroyed by fire, I began to rebuild it on an enlarged site, to be dedicated in the name of my sons, and in case I do not complete it in my lifetime, I have given orders that it should be completed by my heirs. 4 In my sixth consulship I restored eighty-two temples of the gods in the city on the authority of the senate, neglecting none that required restoration at that time. 5 In my seventh consulship I restored the Via Flaminia from the city as far as Rimini, together with all bridges except the Mulvian and the Minucian.
21 I built the temple of Mars the Avenger and the Forum Augustum on private ground from the proceeds of booty. I built the theatre adjacent to the temple of Apollo on ground in large part bought from private owners, and provided that it should be called after Marcus Marcellus, my son-in-law. 2 From the proceeds of booty I dedicated gifts in the Capitol and in the temples of the divine Julius, of Apollo, of Vesta and of Mars the Avenger; this cost me about 100,000,000 sesterces. 3 In my fifth consulship I remitted 35,000 lb. of *aurum coronarium* contributed by the *municipia* and colonies of Italy to my triumphs, and later, whenever I was acclaimed imperator, I refused the *aurum coronarium* which the *municipia* and colonies continued to vote with the same good will as before.

22 I gave three gladiatorial games in my own name and five in that of my sons or grandsons; at these games some 10,000 men took part in combat. Twice in my own name and a third time in that of my grandson I presented to the people displays by athletes summoned from all parts. 2 I produced shows in my own name four times and in place of other magistrates twenty-three times. On behalf of the college of *quindecimviri*, as its president, with Marcus Agrippa as colleague, I produced the Secular Games in the consulship of Gaius Furnius and Gaius Silanus. In my thirteenth consulship I was the first to produce the games of Mars, which thereafter in each succeeding year have been produced by the consuls in accordance with a decree of the senate and by statute. 3 I gave beast-hunts of African beasts in my own name or in that of my sons and grandsons in the circus or forum or amphitheatre on twenty-six occasions, on which about 3,500 beasts were destroyed.

23 I produced a naval as a show for the people at the place across the Tiber now occupied by the grove of the Caesars, where a site 1,800 feet long and 1,200 broad was excavated. There thirty beaked triremes or biremes and still more smaller vessels were joined in battle. About 3,000 men, besides the rowers, fought in these fleets.

24 After my victory, I replaced in the temples of all the cities of the province of Asia the ornaments which my late adversary, after despoiling the temples, had taken into his private possession. 2 Some eighty silver statues of me, on foot, on horse and in chariots, had been set up in Rome; I myself remove them, and with the money that they realized I set golden offerings in the temple of Apollo, in my name and in the names of those who had honoured me with the statues.

25 I made the sea peaceful and freed it of pirates. In that war I captured about 30,000 slaves who had escaped from their masters and taken up arms against the republic, and I handed them over to their masters for punishment. 2 The whole of Italy of its own free will swore allegiance to me and demanded me as the leader in the war in which I was victorious at Actium. The Gallic and Spanish provinces, Africa, Sicily and Sardinia swore the same oath of allegiance. 3 More than seven hundred senators served under my standards at that time, including eighty-three who previously or subsequently (down to the time of writing) were appointed consuls, and about one hundred and seventy who were appointed priests.

26 I extended the territory of all those provinces of the Roman people on whose borders lay peoples not subject to our government. 2 I brought peace to the Gallic and Spanish provinces as well as to Germany, throughout the area bordering on the Ocean from Cadiz to the mouth of the Elbe. 3 I secured the pacification of the Alps from the district nearest the Adriatic to the Tuscan sea, yet without waging an unjust war on any people. 4 My fleet sailed through the Ocean westwards from the mouth of the Rhine to the territory of the Cimbri, a country which no Roman had visited before either by land or sea, and the Cimbri, Charydes, Semnones and other German peoples of that region sent ambassadors and sought my friendship and that of the Roman people. 5 At my command and under my auspices two armies were led almost at the same time into Ethiopia and Arabia Felix; vast enemy forces of both peoples were cut down in battle and many towns captured. Ethiopia was penetrated

as far as the town of Nabata, which adjoins Meroë; in Arabia the army advanced into the territory of the Sabaeans to the town of Mariba.
27 I added Egypt to the empire of the Roman people. 2 Greater Armenia I might have made a province after its king, Artaxes had been killed, but I preferred, following the model set by our ancestors, to hand over that kingdom to Tigranes, son of King Artavasdes and grandson of King Tigranes; Tiberius Nero, who was then my stepson, carried this out. When the same people later rebelled and went to war, I subdued them through the agency of my son Gaius and handed them over to be ruled by King Ariobarzanes, son of Artabazus King of the Medes, and after his death to his son Artavasdes. When he was killed, I sent Tigranes, a scion of the royal Armenian house, to that kingdom. 3 I recovered all the provinces beyond the Adriatic sea towards the east, together with Cyrene, the greater part of them being then occupied by kings. I had previously recovered Sicily and Sardinia which had been seized in the slave war.
28 I founded colonies of soldiers in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, both Spanish provinces, Achaea, Asia, Syria, Gallia Narbonensis and Pisidia. 2 Italy too has twenty-eight colonies founded by my authority, which were densely populated in my lifetime.
29 By victories over enemies I recovered in Spain and in Gaul, and from the Dalmatians several standards lost by other commanders. 2 I compelled the Parthians to restore to me the spoils and standards of three Roman armies and to ask as suppliants for the friendship of the Roman people. Those standards I deposited in the innermost shrine of the temple of Mars the Avenger.
30 The Pannonian peoples, whom the army of the Roman peoples never approached before I was the leading citizen, were conquered through the agency of Tiberius Nero, who was then my stepson and legate; I brought them into the empire of the Roman people, and extended the frontier of Illyricum to the banks of the Danube. 2 When an army of Dacians crossed the Danube, it was defeated and routed under my auspices, and later my army crossed the Danube and compelled the Dacians to submit to the commands of the Roman People.
31 Embassies from kings in India were frequently sent to me; never before had they been seen with any Roman commander. 2 The Bastarnae, Scythians and the kings of the Sarmatians on either side of the river Don, and the kings of the Albanians and the Iberians and the Medes sent embassies to seek our friendship.
32 The following kings sought refuge with me as suppliants: Tiridates king of Parthia, and later Phraates son of king Phraates; Artavasdes, king of the Medes; Artaxares, king of the Adiabeni; Dumnobellaunus and Tincommius, kings of the Britons; Maelo, king of the Sugambri;...rus, king of the Marcomanni and Suebi. 2 Phraates, son of Orodes, king of Parthia, sent all his sons and grandsons to me in Italy, not that he had been overcome in war, but because he sought our friendship by pledging his children. 3 While I was the leading citizen very many other peoples have experienced the good faith of the Roman people which had never previously exchanged embassies or had friendly relations with the Roman people.
33 The Parthian and Median peoples sent to me ambassadors of their nobility who sought and received kings from me, for the Parthians,

Vonones, son of King Phraates, grandson of King Orodes, and for the Medes, Ariobarzanes, son of King Artavasdes, grandson of King Ariobarzanes.

34 In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had extinguished civil wars, and at a time when with universal consent I was in complete control of affairs, I transferred the republic from my power to the dominion of the senate and people of Rome. 2 For this service of mine I was named Augustus by decree of the senate, and the door-posts of my house were publicly wreathed with bay leaves and a civic crown was fixed over my door and a golden shield was set in the Curia Julia, which, as attested by the inscription thereon, was given me by the senate and people of Rome on account of my courage, clemency, justice, and piety. 3 After this I excelled all in influence, although I possessed no more official power than others who were my colleagues in the several magistracies.

35 In my thirteenth consulship the senate, the equestrian order and the whole people of Rome gave me the title of Father of my Country, and resolved that this should be inscribed in the porch of my house and in the Curia Julia and in the Forum Augustum below the chariot which had been set there in my honour by decree of the senate. 2 At the time of writing I am in my seventy-sixth year.